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ABSTRACT

The relationship of communication to the foreign language profession is addressed in this volume. The following articles are presented: (1) "Communication and the Foreign Language Teacher," by Charles T. Brown; (2) "Rationale for Language Study," by Jane N. Lippman; (3) "Public Awareness: How Can Associations and Institutions Use Public Relations Skills?" by Anita Monsees; (4) "Public Awareness: What Can the Individual Teacher Do?" by Dona B. Reeves; (5) "Learning Theory for the Classroom Teacher," by John B. Carroll; (6) "Tailoring Language Instruction to Student Needs," by Elizabeth G. Joiner; (7) "Affective Education and Foreign Languages," by Renee S. Disick and Laura Barbanel; (8) "Testing as Communication," by Helen L. Jorstad; (9) "Extending the Teacher: From Text to Context," by Harry Reinert; (10) "The Changing Curriculum," by Anthony Papalia and Joseph Zampogna; (11) "Study Abroad and Intercultural Communication," by Jane M. Bourque; (12) "Developments in Preservice and Inservice Teacher Education," by L.C. Andrews; and (13) "Bilingual/Bicultural Education: A Need for Understanding" by Protase E. Woodford. (SW)

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The Challenge of Communication

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The Challenge of Communication

Edited by Gilbert A. Jarvis

In conjunction with the American Council
on the Teaching of
Foreign
Languages

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Foreword

The purposes of the *ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education* are the collection, analysis, synthesis, and interpretation of the work of the profession. Few areas of education have similar annual compendiums of knowledge because of the exigencies of the publication schedule involved. This volume could not exist, therefore, without the splendid cooperation of many persons whose names do not appear within it.

At ACTFL Headquarters, C. Edward Scebold, Executive Secretary of ACTFL, has provided excellent leadership and assistance that facilitated the entire operation. Several persons at the National Textbook Company contributed to the volume: Leonard Fiddle, Executive Vice President and Editorial Director; Carol Ann Goode, Managing Editor; and Karla Heuer, who very capably edited the final manuscript. At The Ohio State University Carol Hosenfeld, Research Assistant to the editor, contributed greatly in many diverse ways to the preparation of the volume. Diane Birckbichler and Marty Knorre made many valuable suggestions. Ronna Turner, Cathy Kaiser, and especially Mary LaBelle conscientiously and cheerfully performed hundreds of necessary clerical tasks.

The Advisory Committee for Volume 6–June K. Phillips, John L. D. Clark, Joseph Tursi, and Irene Kabler–is to be credited with planning the theme and general structure of the volume.

The work of the chapter authors must be especially acknowledged. The quality of their writing is apparent to every reader; what is not apparent is that their excellent work was done in spite of extremely demanding deadlines. They met well *The Challenge of Communication*.

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Introduction

Gilbert A. Jarvis
The Ohio State University

Few concepts that man has created are more complex than that of *communication*. When translated into behavior, it can be a challenge to the world's greatest intellects or diplomats, yet it can be mastered by a young child. It can be intangible or concrete, ephemeral or indelible, enticing or intimidating, ubiquitous yet unnoticed. A person communicates by his every action. Indeed, the way in which he breathes—the most essential visible life function—sends messages to anyone in his presence. As Charles Brown reminds us in Chapter 1, a person "cannot not communicate."

We are reminded daily of the importance of communication. Products are advertised in terms of their ability to facilitate communication or even in terms of the messages the products themselves are purported to send. A widely used radio public service announcement states directly that a "communication gap is two worlds separated by no one listening." Within education, objectives, learning activity packets, and tests are more and more frequently analyzed according to their communication success. There is no doubt that communication is a significant idea in today's thought; it is a "now" concern. Yet, ironically, we foreign language teachers—whose fundamental business is communication—have not seemed to show any particular concern for it (nor, according to some, any great ex-

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pertise). We have been aware of our difficulties in communicating with colleagues who teach at different levels, and we have recently been showing greater concern for our difficulties in communicating with the general public. But on a more significant level we may be only now discovering that much of the foreign language behavior in our classrooms has been listening, speaking, reading, and writing—all without communication. There were light waves and sound waves that hit the eye and the ear, but little else. In another sense we have always known that students mattered more than verbs, but we are only now discovering what that means for foreign language education. The implications are both profound and extensive.

As the authors of the 13 chapters in this volume show, this rich concept of communication is intimately related to all segments of our profession. They have carefully related their own topic areas to communication concerns that are a challenge to each of us.

In the first chapter Charles Brown asks the reader to step outside foreign language education and to examine the concept of communication from the point of view of the communication specialist. His penetrating analysis of the communication process reveals how it both molds and reveals personalities and how, when viewed from this perspective, foreign language learning is at the heart of humanistic education.

Jane Lippmann thoughtfully examines roles for foreign language education in the mid-1970s. She considers societal trends, student attitudes, and curricular potential in order to derive sound rationales for foreign language learning—rationales that relate directly to communication.

Anita Monsees and Dona Reeves concern themselves with communicating with the public. Monsees shows lucidly how public awareness of the profession can be increased by making use of public relations skills. Reeves describes effective ways in which the individual teacher can improve the image of the profession. Together they provide the profession with powerful tools to increase its impact upon American society.

John B. Carroll provides a very concise yet comprehensive synthesis of contemporary learning theory. Drawing primarily from the fields of psychology and linguistics, he evaluates and interprets theory and research. His success in translating this information into a meaningful model of classroom behavior will have far-reaching effects upon the profession.

Discussions of classroom techniques and strategies frequently become fragmented and prescriptive cookbooks of isolated ideas. Elizabeth Joiner avoids this danger and provides the reader with skills and insights for relating classroom methodology to student needs and the goals of instruction. Her analytical approach integrates all aspects of instruction.

Renée Disick and Laura Barbanel review thoroughly the affective education movement. They examine the theoretical bases of this concern for humanistic education, its historical development, and its potential for foreign language education. The teacher will find their descriptions of techniques to be extremely useful.

A test is seen clearly as a communication device within the review of measurement developments by Helen Jorstad. She provides an up-to-the-moment description of this rapidly changing field, carefully documenting how our testing procedures are evolving to meet curricular change.

Harry Reinert focuses upon teacher behavior. He creates an original perspective for viewing instruction by examining practical ways in which the teacher can extend his influence and can create from a textbook a true communicative context.

Anthony Papalia and Joseph Zampogna complete the series of chapters dealing directly with classroom foreign language instruction by examining the overall changes in curricula at the elementary, secondary, community college, and university levels. They provide excellent syntheses of characteristics of new programs being developed.

In response to a need to understand and evaluate both the concept of study abroad and individual programs for foreign study, Jane Bourque provides many original and useful insights into the relationship between study abroad and intercultural communication. Her focus is communication in one of its most complex forms.

L. O. Andrews sees an intimate relationship between progress in teacher education and success in various communication needs. As a specialist in teacher education who has long had a keen interest in foreign language education, he brings to this crucial topic the unique perspective of an outside scholar.

The continuing rapid development within bilingual/bicultural education is documented by Protase Woodford. He describes current programs and thoughtfully discusses issues that continue to occupy attention within the field.

An annual review of any field reflects the "leading edge" of developments within that field. It is in a sense a mirror of that field. From one year to the next the change is relatively small—scarcely perceptible to some observers. Only now has this Review Series been in existence long enough to reflect a recent history of foreign language education. If one juxtaposes the profession that was reflected in Volume 1 with the profession that is reflected in Volume 6, the contrast is dramatic. Indeed, nearly all the ideas, ways of thinking, and curricular developments found in this volume did not even exist at the time Volume 1 was prepared. It would seem that all foreign language educators should feel both satisfied and encouraged by the vitality implicit in this change—a vitality that each and every one of us can share and can communicate to others. That is, in essence, our greatest challenge.

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Communication and the foreign language teacher

Charles T. Brown
Western Michigan University

One fish said, "What is water?"

The other answered, "I don't know, and I'm not interested; I'm thirsty."

"So am I," said the first.

Communication as interaction

The most obvious thing about communication is that it is an interaction. Obvious things are not necessarily superficial, for response to what another has initiated is a very sophisticated act. The one fish asked, "What is water?" The other did not answer, "I am going to cruise around the aquarium." One person must initiate communication, and the rejoinder must be a response, which implies listening, an act as old as speech but one we are just beginning to understand.

Perspective

These beginnings and what follows are relevant to you, the teacher of a foreign language, for your business is communication. In this chapter a communication teacher asks the foreign language teacher to step outside the discipline and its related knowledge and to consider some of the concerns and insights that are important to the specialist in communication today. Because the available space is small in comparison with the potential exploration, the selection of content must be judicious. Though I discuss some specific implications of the content in the closing pages, for the most part they are left to the

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Charles T. Brown (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin) is Chairman and Professor of Communication Arts and Sciences at Western Michigan University. He is coauthor (with Charles Van Riper) of *Introduction to Speech, Speech and Man;* (with Paul W. Keller) *Monologue to Dialogue;* and (with Charles Van Riper) *Communication in Human Relationships.* He is also author of numerous articles and research reports on various aspects of communication, most notably "An Interpersonal Ethic for Communication," which originally appeared in *The Journal of Communication* and has been reprinted in several books of readings. Dr. Brown is Associate Editor of *The Journal of Communication* and is a recipient of the Western Michigan University Alumni Association *Distinguished Faculty Award.* He is currently developing a theory of interpersonal communication, parts of which appear in this chapter.

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foreign language teacher. The writing is presented in a personal way—for communication is a personal process.

About organization

In trying to organize my thoughts I found it necessary to discuss a series of basic concepts about human communication that interrelate and in an inductive way lead to a theory of interpersonal communication that is evolving and thus controls my thinking at this time. The hazard in stating the theory is that it may seem far removed from your tasks as teachers. It is not, and to state the theory and its underpinnings with some clarity at the outset may help you gain the maximum profit from the reading.

The theory

A subsuming idea, implied in the opening story, undergirds the theory. We humans are essentially sophisticated communicators and thus evolve as persons in accordance with the impact of our communications (Wiener, 22; Williams, 24). The theory built on this assumption holds that each statement made by a person works through a continuing conflict between the desire *to understand* and the desire *to be understood*. Given the tension of this conflict and all the forces that come to play upon a conversation, there is a certain element of the unpredictable and the capricious in our lives. Luck, happenstance, being in the right or wrong place at the right or wrong time, saying the right or wrong thing at the right or wrong time makes the difference. I call this a dramatic theory. In using the word *drama* I do not refer to the performance on a stage or a script to be acted out. I am pointing to the fact that plans may go awry because we are involved in communication over which no person has all control. So there is both the plan and the accident. This central point may seem "off beat" at first reading, but for me it is not, for there is nothing beyond dignity and freedom, and if there is freedom (Powers, 16), there have to be the moments of conflict and of choice. If each of us consciously or unconsciously is trying "to become," a theory of interpersonal communication must try to explain the communication processes involved in that phenomenon. The theory is developed more fully near the close of the chapter.

Ways of describing communication

Communication may be described in four different ways: It is an interaction; a commentary; a transaction called learning; and, at the meaning level, an arousal, not a sending.

Communication is interaction between communicators; it is also intra-action, initiation, and response within a communicator. It is very difficult, therefore, to communicate meaningfully about the act of communication unless both of us, the writer and the reader, become and remain aware that we—as conscious creatures—make commentary on our experience. Verbal behavior is consciousness; call it feedback to experience. As I write I am monitoring my act. As you read, if this has meaning to you, you are responding and immediately considering your response. Communication is, then, a peculiar combination of intrapersonal and interpersonal interaction.

Intracommunication and commentary

Let us exchange the word *communication* with the word *learning* which we shall justify later. Conscious learning is an act that involves a delicate balance between self-listening and other-listening (Carroll, 9, p. 2). You may have noted that some people say the appropriate words at appropriate occasions, but somehow they seem to communicate to you that "they are shallow"; "they do not understand." A British psychologist, Basil Bernstein (5), has observed that children who are poor learners (often failing to learn to read) do not learn *to make commentary* on their experience, especially their feelings. They use language almost exclusively as a tool to get what they want or to express feelings. It is one thing to say "Get out!" and a remarkably different thing to say "I observe that I am angry. . . ." To learn we must feel and act, but at once we must "sense" the feeling and the action. I have observed this failure in learning most vividly in assessing the differing responses of people who attend sensitivity, encounter, or mind-control groups. Some go to a few sessions and develop a whole new range of skills in relating to people. Others go to session after session, sometimes for years, usually finding the experience deeply satisfying but demonstrating in behaviors that the results are fleeting. To say to oneself "that is good," is not enough apparently if one is to learn more than an urge to repeat the experience. To "understand" one must be more philosophical in one's commentary (Brown and Van Riper, 7; Brown and Keller, 8; Watzlawick, Bevin, and Jackson, 21; Whatmough, 23). A person must generalize, educators often say. To generalize—with insight—is to find a category under which to group experiences—past, present, and imagined—so that the arousal of the next experience does pattern and sequence the response of insight.

Self-listening and other-listening

Commentary and understanding

Let us turn our attention more directly to the concept of communication and learning as interchangeable terms. Communication is a *reflection* of our awareness of a strange and changing reality. The physical world for which we have labels is a translatable world, most succinctly expressed in Einstein's formula $E=mc^2$. Energy is mass multiplied by the square of the speed of light; all things labeled are various forms of energy. Communication, earlier seen as interaction between the self and the self and between one person and another may now be seen as a reflection of the mysterious world in which sunlight, water, soil, flesh, and blood can be and are transformed into apples and oranges and human beings. As a reflection of physical reality, communication is the psychological counterpart of nature's strange ways—turning water into ice, gas into liquid, and the reverse. Insight is the magic of seeing something changing into something else. Seen this way, an explanation is an analogy, and insight is transformation. Communication is one thing changing into another, a "transaction" called learning.

Communication and changing reality

Each interaction you have with a student involves some learning, some changing of one thought into another, though indeed when we are disappointed with ourselves or our students we may easily say "the hour was a waste of time"—nothing changed.

Let us look at the long-range evidence for the assertion that communication is learning. We begin with communication long before language or even humans existed.

Evolution and communication

The reptile, the most ancient of the air-breathing vertebrates, crawls out of its egg and slithers off, foraging for itself and by itself. The communication of the world of reptiles is almost exclusively sexual. The evolvement of the mammal brought the newborn to the mammary glands and thus to interaction with the mother. More interaction induced more learning, more change, and the brain stem increased in size. A similar explanation is in order if we are to understand the environment of the primates whose heads show a significant development of forehead and frontal lobe. While sexual interest is dysphasic or periodic in the lower mammal, in primates and man it is continuous though fluctuant in intensity. Thus there is more social and family life among primates—and more interaction, larger brains, more learning. The lemur, baboon, ape, and man are progressively more dependent from birth and progressively more teachable. Strictly speaking, the relationship between in-

Sex in evolution

teraction and evolutionary change does not prove that learning is communication. It is argument by analogy. Yet it is strangely powerful.

Arousal

According to most students of language, the interaction between any two persons is not a sending and a receiving of meanings, but is rather a sending and receiving of sound waves (disturbances of air) in the instance of spoken communication, and a sending and receiving of light waves (disturbances of light particles) in written communication. In the *understanding* of a communication, the "sender" hopes to arouse experiences of the "receiver" similar to those of the "sender." We use words and gestures to arouse each other's recall of experiences.

Of course we all have different experiences with any one word, and our recall is also amazingly different, as any teacher notes when he gives an examination. Understanding, or a sense of identity in experience, comes because we are all encapsulated in the same time-space world. Yet, given the privacy of experience, it is truly a miracle that we ever communicate with any sense of satisfaction.

The deep purposes of communication

Communication for community

What are the purposes of communication? Quite obviously the overall purpose is to establish community. The urge for community is both objective and subjective. Man, along with all the more highly evolved animals, protects himself by living in communities and achieves the specialization of activities that we have in what we like to call civilization. You specialize in and contribute to the community as a teacher of a second language. If each man, like the reptile, had to do all things for his existence himself, man, the peculiarly communicating animal would not have evolved. The division of labor, even before science, invention, machinery, and industrialization, provided the leisure time for man's climb to his present state.

But the internal needs or purposes of human communication are equally significant. Man communicates because he so desperately needs to feel that he belongs to the human family. The significance of this feeling of belonging has its richest meaning when we sense that interaction and dependency are functions of evolution (Becker, 4). The increasing natural intimacy and relationship between mother and offspring is a peculiar aspect of evolution. This intimacy and dependence lasts longer as we move up the scale of life, particularly in the primates, from baboon, to the monkey, ape, and man. The long time of dependency invoked by the helpless state of human birth and the development of the long period of learning for man—a direct result of the invention of writing and thus the accumulation of man's experience—requires that more than a fourth of the life of the college graduate be lived in the dependent state.

Dependency and learning

We who deal in language must understand that language, the center of our communication in human life, is entwined in, and in part springs from, our dependency upon one another. Dependency is a downgraded concept in our "rugged and individualistic society." Paul Tillich's theology, conversely, finds all the meaning and satisfaction of our lives in our relationships with self, others, and "the great ground of being." The humanistic psychology of Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, and others is based on the same perceptions. All therapy beyond medication, which is secondary, is talk between counselor and client. The implication for language teachers is that they should be extremely sensitive to this intimate role of language in the health and growth of a human being. Consider how learning in your classroom contributes to this need.

Language brought to focus

The way language is acquired and developed in the child also provides important clues about the critical role of language. In imitating our elders we grow from the outside in, not the inside out. In short, even though we acquire the word *I* very young in life, we start our lives projectively, in the third person. For the child the world is an extension of the self. Self-esteem and early self-identity are learned from the others who impress him. Identity and the esteem we have for that identity are not (early in life or ever entirely) self-constructions. Others are involved; development of identity is a communicative act.

"I" and the universe

We do not start out equal or superior in persuasive power to those adults who rear us. In the rearing of children, particularly in an aggressive culture, the adults state the codes and punish the children for infractions. As a consequence, almost all of us grow up with persistent conflicts between what we would like to do and what we expect of ourselves. Self-doubt is probably the most pervasive problem of man—certainly it is in our culture. As an abstract statement, this may seem overdrawn, but in every social gathering the conversation is a constant presentation of the self in search for approval (Goffman, 12). One does not say to his conversant, "I present this to see what you think of me and therefore how I may look at myself and whither I tend." That statement is heard only in the gesturing, the posture, the tone of voice, and the look of the eyes. Indeed, only in recent years—with the coming of the human potentials movement—has communication been examined in terms of this hidden agenda. The purposes of communication are more commonly perceived as utility, social communion, and persuasion, which are important purposes. We stop a stranger to find out where Oak Street is; that is utility. We talk about the weather, not to find out what our comrade thinks about the rain, but to sound out the communication climate. We try to persuade a student to study or the automobile dealer to sell for less. Even when these purposes are being carried out, there is also always the presentation of the self, which needs the protection of community living and the approval of others.

The pervasive nonstatement

Communication and relationship

One of the most critical and important things about human communication is the relationship between the persons involved, and it has been ignored or taken for granted. At least in part this is because the insights of communication are phenomena of the last several decades and have only recently come into our understandings of speech. The faces of the label *speech* are sound, articulation, pronunciation, symbols, and impact. The faces of the label *communication* are community, interaction, feedback, and mutual impact. One cannot study within the label of *communication* without finding that the main concern is not sounds or messages, but what happens between those who "send" messages.

Echoes of dependence

Two German philosophers, Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger, spearheaded the thinking in which the significance of human relationship becomes critical. Husserl, born in 1859, called his thinking "phenomenology," a study of consciousness in its *relationship* to objects. He was interested in his awareness of his perceptions of the interplay between himself and objects. In short, he sat back and looked at himself as a relationship between himself and the world outside himself. He did not see himself as an independent being, but as one affecting and being affected by interaction. Martin Heidegger followed the same line of investigation, noting that man is the one creature capable of questioning himself. This questioning (commentary) is a way of making oneself an object to himself. A prolonged look at oneself, as if apart from oneself, brings into focus one's relationships with others and his world. This alienated perception was activated by two other great flashes of insight in this century. Martin Buber, the Jewish theologian, wrote a little book called *I and Thou.* Its central view is known all over the world, although the book is almost meaningless to many highly intelligent and literate people. It is simple. You can perceive a person in one of two ways. He is an "it," an extension of yourself or an inviolate entity, even as yourself. The latter experience is a "meeting" in which one's awareness of relationship is sharpened, for in meeting one escapes his usual orientation in himself as a focal point in a world that surrounds himself.

Something between

To lose oneself

At the same time this awareness of subjectivity was evolving in science. Einstein's Special Theory of Relativity was essentially the development of a sense that time and space are relative to the position of the observer.

Relativity

The whole history of man's thoughts and observations evolving from his feelings of alienation that emerged in the Renaissance (when he discovered that the earth is a dot in space) has led man to an awareness in communication analysis that we humans are made in our relationships with other people. We had to lose the illusion that the universe was built around us before we could know loneliness. In turn, we had to know loneliness to understand the significance of relationship.

Relationship and the managerial grid

Two theorists of the problem of conflict (Blake and Mouton, 6) have applied the role of relationship to the world of business and industry or any group endeavor. They have perceived all interactions among people as being controlled by unconscious or conscious effort of the group to function within one of five kinds of relationships. The concept is built on the two activities of any group work, be it that of home, school, government, or business and industry. When we work together, we have to accomplish a task and to care for the relationships necessary to achieve the task. Each communicative act is done with more or less emphasis upon one or both. Thus we can have two continua, which may be diagrammed to form a grid (Figure 1.1).

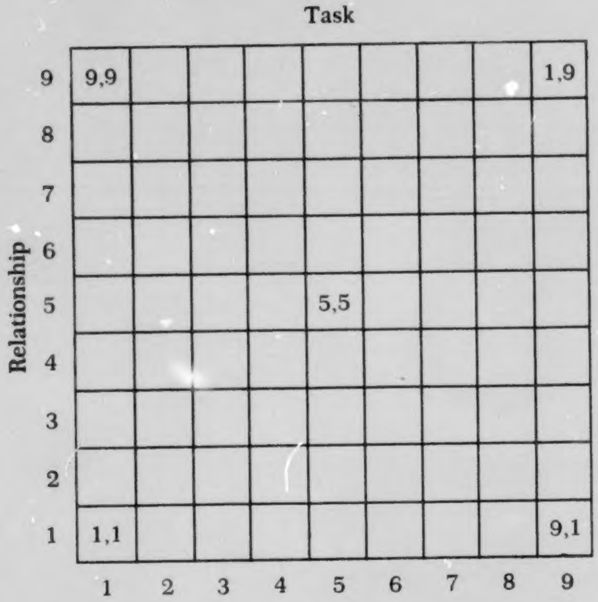


Figure 1.1

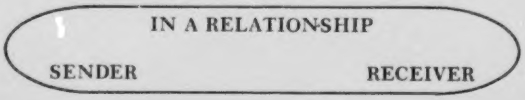
Both dimensions

If we mark off each continuum from 1 to 9, any one of the resulting squares identifies one of 81 strengths of the task-relationship orientations. Only five examples need be cited to illustrate the point. You may go about communication with other persons with the highest and equal concern for both the productivity and the relationship: a 9,9 orientation. This high energy drive for both dimensions is necessary for creative changes of view and feeling as interaction takes place. The greatest moments of teaching are those when you were most competent and sustained the dignity of the student and his belief in himself. In the 1,9 orientation we are energetically trying to maintain the relationships and are sacrificing productivity to that end. In the world of friendship this approach is appropriate. Probably not much instructive teaching is achieved within this orientation. In contrast, with a 9,1 orientation one is driven to win his point, even at the cost of a relationship. Little education of value occurs here. A low energy level for both the task and concern for the person is present in a 1,1 orientation. The teacher in this state is doomed to failure. Nothing is achieved with lackluster enthusiasm. Finally, the 5,5 is a midpoint, of course, in the intersection of drives to accomplish a task and concern for a human relationship. It is the point of compromise. Where synthesis is not possible, one may compromise. These perspectives bring human relationships into an appropriate association with educational purpose. The central point here is that the teacher whose own identity as a professional is completely "subject oriented" is probably not going to be very successful—except with the student who identifies with him and loves the subject, and this student can do without a teacher. Conversely and obviously, the teacher who is concerned with the welfare of the person, at any cost to subject matter, may serve as a father or mother; but he will be a poor teacher of the subject.

Give and take

Application to teaching

The managerial grid brings to sharp focus the significance and role of relationship in communication. Perhaps the view is heightened by the following diagram:



A message is sent and received (Brown and Van Riper, 7; Brown and Keller, 8) within a relationship between two persons. It is often said in communication literature that a person cannot *not* communicate. One's presence communicates. A communication always takes place within a relationship. The character of that relationship has much to do with the learning of a communication.

The meaning of this elusive concept, relationship, is increased by an examination of the workings of empathy in communication. By *empathy* we refer to the experience of participating in another person's feelings and ideas. It is a sensing of the other person's inner world and a sensing of the way the world appears through his eyes. Empathy is sometimes explained as a pendulum-like activity: seeing through one's own eyes and then through the eyes of the other (Smith, 18). While understanding results from the two views, it probably is not appropriate to cite empathy as the alternating shift of attention. The empathic response is the momentary losing of self-aware-

Central to relationship

ness and the introjecting of the other into awareness. It is what Martin Buber refers to when he uses the term *Thou*, a sensing of the other person as an inviolate integrity. At the most intense level the introjection is commonly called "a peak experience" (Maslow, 15). In this experience the other can be an idea, flower, tree, rock, mountain, lake, animal, the cosmos, God, as well as a person. Sadly and strangely, one is inclined to suspect that peak empathy is more readily achieved with something other than a person. And it is achieved only when one is in no way threatened and is completely absorbed by the other. One can trust himself to a stone and listen to its sermon. To give oneself to "complete" understanding of what it means to be another person calls for immense trust in oneself—and in the other. What might one discover about himself in the full disclosure of existence as another person knows it? And to be so captivated by another person could make oneself vulnerable to the possible exploitive needs of the other? Intense empathy with another person is an experience of implicit faith.

The role of trust

Relationship and nonverbal communication

In recent years, amazingly for the first time, man has made a detailed exploration of nonverbal communication. The study of speech beginning in early Greece was essentially a study of public speaking: the developing, organizing, and delivering of speeches. Nonverbal study was restricted to the study of the public-speaking performance. In the last quarter century, however, an immense amount of research has been done on the communication of the posture; movements of hands, head, torso, mouth, eyes; distances between communicators; the impact of colors, dress, the whole physical environment; the various aspects of the voice (Argyle, 1; Hall, 13; Knapp, 14). The unspoken communication is expressed by the whole body, and the information expressed concerns the feelings about the self, the task at hand, and the other persons involved. Perhaps, however, the eyes and the voice are the best single indicators.

One's eyes tell the other person how much he is accepted (Argyle, 1). Smiling relaxed eyes with enlarged pupils maintaining focus and attention on the other person tell the other person he is related comfortably. And most of us are sensitive to a voice that sends the message that our conversant is friendly, hostile, or indifferent. Research on many aspects of nonverbal communication is accumulating, but the code has not been broken; that is, we do not know exactly how the feelings are conveyed.

Expectation and the nonverbal code

Nonverbal research

We do know that much is conveyed, and this has come into sharpest focus in the design of some ingenious research on the validity of research. Over and over in these studies it has been demonstrated that a researcher unconsciously conveys to his subjects his expectations of them (Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 17). If he expects his subjects to do well, they tend to do well. If he expects them to do poorly, they do poorly. Obviously the researcher does not verbalize his expectations or his judgments to the subjects. Quite unconsciously he conveys his judgments in the way he gives his directions, and quite unconsciously the subject responds in the way he is led to feel about his competence.

Unconscious communication

Application to teaching

Unconscious communication is achieved by nonverbal behavior, and the communication of relationship is essentially nonverbal. One may like to hear "I like you" or "That was a good job you did" or "I like your jacket," but all of us are comfortable or uncomfortable in a relationship not as a consequence of what the other says to us about us, but *by the way he talks to us*. One does not walk into a room without communicating something, and the thing he is communicating is his response to his environment, himself, the place, and the persons present. This phenomenon has the most intense meaning for the teacher when we discover, for instance, that one of the most critical problems of the ghetto is the unstated judgment of the teacher about his capacity to teach the children what they ought to know (Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 17). Quite bluntly, the teacher who does not expect much of his students disqualifies himself as their teacher. He does not trust their intelligence and/or their aspirations. As a consequence, he persuades his students to behave as he expects them to, all quite unconsciously. The self-fulfilling prophesy is at the heart of every teaching act in all subject-matter areas.

What is a person, the learner?

Self and society

A person is a microcosm of his social world. He learns to talk to himself as the world has talked to him. I recently had a conversation with an attractive and bright young woman who is just learning to like herself. Although she is well filled out, in male perspective, in the right places, she is not obese. She has a corrected glandular disorder, and all her life except for the past three years she has been fat. Three years ago she weighed 307 pounds. Since she lost 170 pounds, her greatest learning has been *not* to see people looking critically at her body. Throughout her life people had seen her as a fat person and had rejected her nonverbally–or at least so she thought. She accepted their rejection and came to despise herself.

Interestingly, even after losing the 170 pounds, she saw herself as she had always seen herself. Four critical experiences finally helped her to see that other people were not responding as they had. She learned to talk to herself differently. When she shopped for clothes she picked out garments several sizes too large despite the clerk's comment that they were not her size. Only by trying them on and finding them ridiculously loose and large could she begin to perceive her size as others saw it. Second, she was shocked to see a picture of herself after she had lost weight, and she could comprehend it only as her family assured her that this was a picture of her. The third and fourth experiences that confirmed her new body image were social. She took an interpersonal communication class, the object of which was to discover and heighten one's sense of personal identity. For the first time in her life she openly talked about her body image and how she felt others saw it. This finally erased the tendency to distort her interpretation of other people's nonverbal responses. Finally, and most persuasively, males began to seek her out, and one has asked her to marry him.

Summary

This story associates the interacting roles of verbal and nonverbal communication, but the essential intent is to illustrate the way intrapersonal communication–the things we say to ourselves about ourselves–and interpersonal communication are entwined in our learning.

Projective and introjective perception

Conflict

All of us look out of our face through our eyes upon a world and thus create a world–out there–that fits our needs. What is real is in the eye of the beholder. The man dying of thirst in the desert runs toward a waterhole that is an illusion. There is a statistically significant difference in the number of faint images perceived as kinds of food between a group of hungry and a group of food-satiated persons. Innumerable studies of visual perception substantiate the conclusion. Reality is a transaction between a person's needs and external stimuli. We tend to distort the stimuli to fit our beliefs, attitudes, and physical needs.

Conflict in focus

We tend to project, to perceive the world as an extension of ourselves. Under this influence our communication is extremely insensitive to the integrity of the other person. We use the other person for our needs. Conversely, the sophisticated ability to empathize with another, to look through his eyes as he looks through his eyes—to understand another person—is the consequence of introjecting. By introjection we mean, in effect, to set aside our tendency to see through our own eyes and to identify ourself as the other. Martin Buber might say "to feel the presence of the being of the other," that great foreignness of being something other than oneself—indeed the other. How this can be achieved is, of course, a matter of conjecture "at this point in time." But certainly language is a facilitator or at least a reflection of the introjective perception, expressed in "isness" (which the general semanticists all too easily dismiss as reality distortion). You may have taken the "I am ———" test, in which you fill in the blank in 20 statements, each beginning "I am." Logically, of course, "I am" only one thing, "myself." But in one's communicative life, if he is to experience much he is many things. If one is to be a profound teacher, "he is" a teacher, and a teacher is a person who, among other things, senses vividly what it is to be a student.

Managed or unmanaged

When these two opposing ways of perceiving experience work in harmony, a person comes into close contact with himself and others. When either projection or introjection overpowers the other, communication breaks down.

Emotions and learning

No feature of communication and learning has more significance than the one identified by the word *emotion*. Love, hate, anger, sadness, courage, anxiety, frustration are emotional states—feelings. But one can say, "I have no feelings about it. I don't care." In this he is saying he is not aroused. He has no response. When your student says he does not care, you, as a teacher, are challenged. If you are to teach him, somehow you must see that he cares.

How much arousal?

The research shows that if you want to give a test at the end of the hour on material you are working with in that class, you must arouse the students, but not too much. For short-term maximum recall one must be alert, but not anxious or tense (Walker and Torte, 20). Many tests are bad indicators of the learning of the student because the student is in a state of arousal that does not permit him to interpret the questions appropriately. This does not necessarily mean he cannot recall the data. He may or may not, depending upon the interactive anxiety and the degree of arousal associated with the earlier learning of the data. The problem is that the student tends to write a series of *non sequiturs*. The behavior is induced by the fact that the student reads the question in such tension that his interpretation is faulty. By the end of a long sentence he may even be unable to recall the first part. He is immobilized in dealing with the question, quite aside from recall of data.

Conversely, if we are to remember something for a long time, perhaps the rest of life, we must be highly aroused. I do not recall anything that happened one summer day 42 years ago except the experience of being in an automobile that overturned at high speed, and I can recall that in detail. We need low arousal for maximum short-term memory and high arousal for maximum long-term memory.

Emotion and words

Arousal and emotion

The arousal of emotion is purely chemical; therefore, there is more to human emotion than arousal. We humans make commentary on our experience, most particularly on that which arouses us. This self-talk is what causes us to label an emotion as love, hate, fear, and so on. As Albert Ellis (11) says, it is what we say to ourselves about the experience of arousal that determines the label of the emotion and therefore its impact upon us. The significant thing we are saying in any emotion is "This is good for me" or "This is bad for me." One resists that which is "bad for me." Teachers may well examine what students are saying to themselves about their learning experience. Do they like or dislike it?

Reward and punishment

The most important implication of operant conditioning for teaching is the finding that reward (good for me) induces learning and that punishment (bad for me) does not. There should be just enough chance for error to arouse a student to be alert. When arousal moves toward punishment, a student withdraws from learning. At first this may seem to counter experience. We can all remember the time we gave a student a week to do a job —get it done or fail—and the student did the task and did it well, perhaps. Learning cannot be evaluated from this short-term view, however. Ask yourself this: Did you become a language teacher because you were attracted to the study or because you studied under the threat of failure?

The boomerang

Let us look at this from the view of criminal behavior—not that language learning should be so related! Prisons exist for two reasons. One is to incarcerate individuals dangerous to society. In this prisons are totally successful. The second is to teach people not to break the law. In this they are totally unsuccessful. Indeed, the record shows that the threat of punishment succeeds as a deterrent to crime only as long as the person is held in prison. He even seems attracted to crime after release. The more often a person is put in prison, the more likely it is that he will return to prison. Punishment does not reinforce what we want to reinforce.

The teacher's emotions

Teachers, students, emotions

Almost all readers must have suffered some anxiety or rejected the above discussion, for all of us have at times punished students, even severely. We teachers are human, and we experience the range of human emotions, whatever our philosophy. There are two issues at stake. The first simply stated is this: Should a teacher let his true emotions, when negative, show? Notwithstanding the discussion of learning and punishment, the answer is yes. The student reads our nonverbal cues. If we will not express our negativeness to a student, he must ask the question, why? Is my teacher's impatience with me something that always exists, occasionally almost coming to surface? What is behind the impatience? I don't know who my teacher is. *And thus he makes me wonder who I am.*

The teachers who have made a difference in our lives were, for us, real people. Those who were not flesh and blood did not help us internalize whatever they taught. I am not extolling negative and punitive emotions, but the fact remains that negative emotions form more effective teaching relationships than do feigned emotions. A teacher without clearly expressed emotions is more like a teaching machine than a teacher.

The second point about negative emotions in teaching is far more critical, for it involves a teacher's overall attitudes about students. My greatest shock as a young teacher came in the smoking room of the high school in my first week as an instructor. I discovered that many of the teachers did not like to teach and did not like students. They considered their role as one in which they were charged by society, and rightly so, to keep students from getting away with anything. Students, they were convinced, do not want to learn. Students are generally lazy or subversive. This came to me with a poignant emphasis, because I was teaching at the high school where I had once been a student. Some of these teachers had been my teachers. As a high school boy, I had not read the nonverbal cues accurately. I had feared some of these teachers. Indeed, my overall response to learning had always involved considerable fear and anxiety. Though in my mature years I had come to know myself as intelligent, as a school boy I had always felt ambient and unclear on this. I wanted so badly to be intelligent and when I doubted myself I felt a resentment toward Nature. I did not know until I was a man that those messages had been sent to me as a school boy in a code that I could not decode.

Emotional relationship

We have discussed emotion as arousal to attend and thus to learn, the relation of words to emotion, and the teacher's emotions. If you will consider for a moment, you will sense that a discussion of emotions in communication throws a new light on relationship in communication. Indeed, the emotional tie or relationship between two people serves as the channel for all the messages that each arouses in the other.

The alienated learner of the 1970s

Understanding young people

The younger generation of recent years has been variously described as sad, lonely, angry, or uncommitted. As the mood of the times change, the young change, as you and I do too. All of us belong to a culture, and it is the overall character of the culture to which we should look if we are to understand the pervasive character of our young people (Brown and Van Riper, 7; Brown and Keller, 8). Essentially, the peculiar aspect of our culture is that it is newly industrialized. We say newly industrialized, for in the new but significant changes we have the forces that strain our communication. Although the oldest person reading this book was born in the industrial system of production, the first large-scale industrial enterprise in America was that of Union uniforms in the Civil War, a little over 100 years ago. In 1800 90 percent of Americans lived on farms, 10 percent in cities. At that time cities existed for the sake of commerce, the exchange of goods independently grown or mined. As machinery for making things began to be invented in the early 1800s, factories began to spring up in the cities, and people began to leave the farms to work in the city. By 1890, in less than 100 years, 90 percent of the people lived in the city. The percentages for farms and industry had reversed.

Science and loneliness

From a communication view, the impact of this is of the greatest significance. On the farm, especially without much machinery, every hand is needed; therefore, children did chores at the earliest possible age. Father and son, mother and daughter, were involved with each other all day long. Parents were teachers. Indeed, the grandparents of almost all the people I know of my age went to school only in the coldest winter months for two or three years. They learned to read and write and do simple arithmetic. But they knew their parents well and how to do the things their parents did.

Now the modern father works at a place unknown to his children. They meet in the evening when both are tired—and even then they are separated by the television set. With mothers working, the separation of the child from the teacher-parent is relatively complete.

Technology and education

With the development of industrialization came public education. What else can you do with a youngster who has no cows to milk and no parent to guide him? And with the specialized work of the factory came the specialized work of the teacher. The one-room schoolhouse gave way to the graded school in which most children shared the same teacher all day with 30 other children. Neither mother nor teacher with 30 children can be known very well. Nor can the teacher know the student.

Interaction in education

Without one-to-one communication, no teacher can really know how his message is being perceived. Mass education limps, in part, because there is so little one-to-one correction. As a shadow in the background of the immediate discussion, we may wonder if we do not get minimal results because there is little emotional tie between teacher and student.

Then came television

Since 1950 a new industrial consequence leading to increased alienation has evolved: the rearing of children under the influence of television five and six hours a day. Before, children spent these free hours of their day in intense relationships with other children. Industry separated a deep relationship between child and parent. Mass education separated a deep relationship between teacher and student. Now television separates deep relationships between a child and another child. Industrialism has brought us close together in the city where we live far apart.

Response to alienation

We have no tests of alienation, so far as I know, but I suspect that young people have never felt so little belongingness—to self, others, or Nature—as they do today. Throughout the culture there is a "here and now" orientation in response to a culture that has taught the pursuit of loneliness. It is not a hedonism; it is a feeling of emptiness and voidness that comes when one thinks of past or future. If the past has been painful, the future is imponderable. Prepare yourself for what? The young person knows he will not do his father's or mother's work. He is told he will probably have two or three work careers. He knows the critical environment and energy problems mean that life styles may also change. The future is inaccessible to imagination. But the present hour needs tending. It is empty and fleeting, for relationships are so tenuous and fleeting. Alvin Toffler (19) and others have been discussing a new awareness, the way the mobile society has taken away from man the roots of lifetime relationships. I was talking recently with a Trappist monk of 12 years (reared in New York City) who is studying medieval history in a midwestern university. His most poignant response to the culture outside the monastery is the feeling that nobody belongs, that people are involved in diverting activity, and as persons they are all strangers.

Lifetime relationships

In such a world verbalization is easy. The need to belong and to be reassured must be sought from people with whom our relationships are temporary. But temporary arrangements alter the nature of the word *concern*. Moreover, we all now live in a world of ersatz drama nightly on television interspersed with admittedly untrue endorsements of products. In the latter point we are saying the advertiser is banking on the power of a repeated label and pleasureable images, not the authenticity of the claim. The words of the advertisement are a spoof. In addition the word of political figures has reached an all-time low. For reasons like these, young people of high school and college age have little regard for the communication of the word. They have come to put an immense faith in nonverbal communication: the touch, the look, the quality of voice, the arrangements of space.

At the college level there is an involvement in meditation among many and a concern or respect by a majority who a few years ago would have laughed at the prospects of silence and thought. Margaret Mead says that these young people are the first native-born Americans. We take this to mean that they have been born into the condition of man presented by fully sophisticated industrialism, the conditions under which they are induced by the survival urge to scan for value schemes that fit conditions. Those born since 1945, when the first atomic bomb exploded, are not more aware, but their perceptions do not have to be shifted from one set of world conditions to another. They can ask questions pertinent to human well-being; they can feel the conditions of the spirit in ways that may seem unrealistic to us born to a different kind of reality.

New questions

I cite these descriptions of a new race of young people to take away from them their strangeness. I do not ascribe to them an uncanny brilliance. They are extremely uncertain. They are naive in wanting all the industrial comforts while expressing contempt for the system that produces those comforts. They are alienated, and their greatest need is an intensified state of awareness of the pervading human condition described here (Becker, 4; Brown and Van Riper, 7).

The point for us, their teachers, is this: We must understand them if we are to teach them. Certainly, standing outside them and shaking our heads in disbelief blunts our best powers.

Implications for teachers

Communication as dramaturgy

The selection of concepts explored in this chapter is guided by a dramatic theory–dramaturgy. The encompassing intent of human life is "to become," to find fulfillment, and thus any understanding of human communication must be entwined with man's central intent.

Life's intent

But if a person intends to find fulfillment, the real possibility exists that he may not. Conflict is central in the drama of life. Every drama on the stage is a series of interactions that gradually sharpen a conflict of perceptions among the players which leads to confrontation, or the "obligatory scene" where the conflict is resolved. Thus the play comes to an end.

Success versus failure

Between the beginning and the end of each life a person lives through many confrontations or obligatory scenes. The obligatory scene in the conventional play often, if not always, resolves the conflict. After all, you go to the theater to be entertained and to get some respite from the real drama. In life we are more likely only to learn how to manage the conflict.

Conflict management

The difference between resolution and management brings into sharp focus our perspective about the role of conflict in communication. In this theory of communication conflict is desirable, and good communication has conflict; good communication does not resolve conflict. Conflict is central to life; without it, life and communication would be something entirely different from what it is. All creativity involves conflict. The very writing of this chapter has involved intense conflict—what to say and what not to say; to say it this way or that way; to describe a view or to prescribe it; to lengthen an explanation, to leave it as it is, to shorten it; to say what you would want to read or to impress my feelings and thoughts upon you; to help you understand how to use these ideas or to use the opportunity to explore my thoughts. Perhaps none of these conflicts has been resolved, that is, in the sense that the stress is eliminated or that one view gives way entirely to its opposite. It is only managed.

The delusion

The concept of a resolution of conflict has come to deluding focus in human perception because so much of our conflict management is ineffective, resulting in destruction. Surveying the wreckage of human relationships—friends who cannot talk anymore, lovers who have to part, divorces that shatter children, political struggle that wrecks the economy, differences of view that end in bloody if not dying humans—we come to abhor conflict. Violence of spirit and of action all comes as a consequence of destructive conflict. The answer is not the end of conflict but the appropriate management of it.

Looking back

The centrality of conflict in a theory of communication may come into sharp focus if one looks at the underlying design of the sections of the chapter. Let us recall them: intra-action versus interaction, commentary versus utility communication, the dependency of the child versus the desire to be an independent self, task orientation versus relationship, the conscious verbalization versus the nonverbal unconscious gesture, projective versus introjective perception, alertness versus intense emotion, positive versus negative emotion. Conflict is indigenous to every aspect of communication.

If one surveys the above list of topics, trying to comprehend the way they all fit together, he may note that the central conflict of communication comes to rest between two opposing drives of the human. They may most simply be described as the drive to understand and the drive *to be understood*—two opposing communicative drives that each of us in each utterance must manage.

Source of conflict

To understand

One drive

The curiosity of the child is evidence of the immense energy of the drive to understand. The huge accumulation of knowledge stashed in the libraries of the world testifies to the great urge of man to understand. The whole educational structure, of which you are a part, exists to help satisfy man's need to understand. All the confusion of our present political, economic, and moral state is in large measure the consequence of our seeking to understand and then acting on that understanding. There would be no pollution, no energy shortages, no congestion, indeed few cities, had not man been driven to know and to understand. This book is written out of this pervasive urge. You read it, driven by the same urge. How can you learn to know, to understand, how to teach a foreign language more effectively and with more significance to your students?

To be understood

Its opposite

The need *to be understood* is equally important to the need to understand. A central purpose of communication is the need to make sense to ourselves, but one cannot know oneself except through the mirror of others. *To know ourselves we must be understood.* Moreover, if we are to evolve, to fulfill, we have to believe we can achieve. But we cannot believe in ourselves if others do not believe in us. To be believed in *is to be understood.*

The two together

Like male and female

As we describe this second great drive—*to be understood,* to be confirmed—we keep tying it to its opposite drive—*to understand*. One could argue that this very tying together indicates that there is no basic conflict, but all conflicts exist because the opposing forces are intimately related.

Illustration

The life of Albert Einstein is a poignant illustration. Perhaps no man in human history was more driven *to understand*, showing not only the intimate relationship to its opposite, *to be understood*, and thus the price one pays in the one, if he is to indulge the other. Einstein first became entranced with the workings of the universe as a five-year-old child when he noted the action of a compass. Some mysterious forces made the needle point in the same direction no matter how he twisted or turned the compass. He reported in later life that the experience made him tremble and grow cold. The boy began dreaming and conjecturing, and this drive to know brought him into direct conflict with his teachers who wanted to teach him things that got in the way of his mental processes. Ultimately he was expelled from the Gymnasium as an unruly incompetent student. His family sent him to Switzerland to get a new start. There he fared little better, for at 16 he was already evolving his Special Theory of Relativity, which he completed nine years later. In the next 12 years he lived to evolve his general theory and once worked so intensely that his health broke. He was a year recuperating. During these productive years he was married, had two children, and was divorced. He scarcely knew his sons. Albert Einstein sacrificed much for the human race, but he was intimate with very few persons, with neither of his two wives. In old age he said to one of his few confidants that for his work he had paid an immense price in relationships with people.

The statement of these facts should not be interpreted as a criticism of a man of immense achievement, but a vivid example of the inherent conflict between the urge *to understand* and the urge *to be understood*. The two stand together as a unit in life, but the more of the one, the less of the other. We would postulate: The more equal the two, the more intense the conflict; the more one is sacrificed for the other, the less the conflict.

Conflict hypothesis

We are creatures who have evolved in this universe, and so the laws of our being must in some way reflect the basic conditions of the universe. Gravity makes each mass hold itself together and at once holds that mass related to all other masses that bear upon it. The earth has its own momentum in an orbit designed by the relationship of its own mass and velocity to the mass and velocity of its moon, other planets, the sun, and other stellar bodies. The earth is an entity, but related.

A comparison

The analogy could be carried much further, but the central point would probably be obscured. In likening the conflicting gravitational forces of the universe to the conflicting communicating forces *to understand* and *to be understood,* we highlight the view that conflict is implicit in communication and that our task is to manage the struggle between the urges to become and the need to be related to others.

The implication of conflict

Sharing control

If our lives are a series of obligatory scenes—a series of intrapersonal conflicts and simultaneously a series of interpersonal conflicts—the most crucial observation about man and communication is this: A person does not know what he is going to do until he has done it, or at least until he is doing it. Certainly no creative person knows what he is going to think or say until he is doing or saying it. Only when frightened do we rehearse a statement before we say it. The person who premeditates everything he says is wooden, unrelated, and in trouble.

The creative act

I recall reading about a meeting between the board of directors of a foundation and a scientist who was applying for a substantial sum to carry out a research project. One of the directors asked the applicant what he would find out by the project. The researcher was confused and unsure of how to answer. Coming to his rescue, another member of the board said, "If he knew what he was going to find out, he wouldn't have to do it."

Control

Every creative statement and every creative act, be it that of teacher, poet, painter, or physicist, is an act in which one does not know or even have full control over what the interaction will produce. One day the Red Sox beat the Yankees, and the next day the Yankees clobber the Red Sox. Our games and movies keep telling us about the central nature of interaction, but we refuse to see it.

Refusal

Our refusal is easy to understand. The great advances of science began about 500 years ago after science had delineated its purposes: to observe, to experiment, to predict, and to control. The success of science has led us to be overly confident of clear planning and measurable objectives. The confounding truth is that almost all great discoveries have been accidents, but accidents that occurred in the lives of those who devoted their energies to watching for the happy accident.

The theory applied to teaching

Plan

As a student teacher, I was impressed with the importance of lesson plans and an organized well-structured course. In this age of accountability we are again caught up in the lesson plan, and should be. Merely assuming that what we do in education is important is blind faith in impulse. We should try to set clear any reasonable goals, and we should try to determine the skills or behavior that achieve the goals.

Yet we are in danger of being caught up in a scientism, an excessive belief in our objectives and evaluation instruments. Let me illustrate. Intelligence tests and personality tests have been given the energies of thousands of scholars and millions of dollars for decades. The results applied to the interpretation of a person are very difficult to understand (Bales, 3). The teacher who thinks his goals and grading system are objective has an immense faith in his insights at that hour when he draws up his questions or scores the papers.

The dynamic plan

We need our lesson plans, activities, and our evaluations as we need a compass on a voyage. But the art of teaching hinges on the capacity of sensing the way to capitalize upon the unpredictable behavior of both the class and the self as interaction takes place. The good hours are not those when we execute the plan as we imagined it, but are those when we adapt to events over which we have no control. The great joy of the teaching experience in the classroom is in sensing that we always exist in any given class hour between success and failure, between wooden rehearsal and revealing improvisation. Learning is surprise, coming upon the unforeseen with fresh vision.

In a scientific age the world of probability is at best conceived as the measure of ignorance (though not by many among the quantum theorists). Most of our assumptions must be carefully scrutinized. Is not the assumption that the universe is something that is happening as reasonable as the assumption that it is a plan, with or without a God? Indeed, one may be less inspired by a Creator who made a clock and is watching it run down than by the possibilities of Breathless Life that does not know what is to come. I have a deep faith, as an educator, in the accidents of discussion in which the teacher is a careful listener.

Loren Eiseley (10) refers to man as the orphan of the cosmos, the lonely orphan, orphan because he attained language by which he can make comments on his experience, thus changing his experience. We are destined to make our course as persons and as a species by the changing perceptions gained in verbal interaction that forms the drama of our lives.

Changing perceptions

Some implications and conclusions for the foreign language teacher

I have tried to keep you, the foreign language teacher, in mind, asking myself, "If I had not studied human communication, what could I learn in a few pages that I could match against my daily practice?" Hopefully, I have written close enough to communication as learning that much of this application has been done. In closing I make a few more specific observations as a way of helping you assess how much parallel talk you have done. In truth some of you might write this last section better than I, for I have not taught a foreign language. My only insight into your world is that of a person who has studied foreign languages. Even then I am limited, for while at one time or another I have been able to read several languages in halting translation, I have never known what it is to think and speak in a language other than English. Within these recognized limitations, I proceed to suggest some implications.

Teacher as humanist

Language: the heart of man

The language teacher (foreign and otherwise), above all other teachers, ought to be a humanist, opposing almost all attitudes of teaching by demand. Recently I talked with a young woman who had studied several years of French in high school and college before going to France to live for two years. She told me the impact of the first time she left her party, alone, on a bold mission—to get some cigarettes. She came upon a young boy and asked him in what she felt must be tortured French where she could buy them. He turned, pointed, and replied "Go down to the next corner, turn right, and go to the store this side of the post office." She said she would not forget that moment. She felt deeply understood, understood in a sense she had not known before, even in English. I asked her why, and she replied, "Because I know I did not speak his French, but he did not notice, or at least did not care. He understood my question and he answered me." She paused a moment suggesting a transition to other thoughts, but I felt she had other awarenesses related to her last statement, and I replied, "Say more about that. What are you saying?" After some moments she continued.

> As a student of French I always felt a certain embarrassment. I was not French, and I never knew how much I had a right to try. . . . I had to form my mouth, like a baby, into shapes I had never known. I was making funny faces, and I do not like to present myself as a silly person. Somehow I always had felt childish, tense, and uneasy in the classroom. It's like I never spoke French until I met that little boy. I'll always remember that moment. Can you understand?

The following may seem oblique at first. In light of the question with which the girl closed her comments, it is not. Black speech teachers of southern black college students have the dubious task of teaching the student to speak white language and dialect so that the student may "move up" in a white man's world. But the black person learning this feels foolish and resentful—even when he wants it. The way we speak is the way we perceive ourselves. Thus, the teacher may be obliged to have his student play the role of a foolish white man, with much laughter to relieve tension, as his entrance to white speech.

Language and humanism

Throughout the chapter we have identified language as the mark of man. We who teach communication, English, or foreign tongue have the unique privilege of introducing the student to himself. To study another language in which people live out their lives and to study the literature that has expressed their dreams and the limits of their possibilities *is a way by contrast to introduce the student to himself, as a stranger, and thus to sharpen his perception of himself and the human condition.* Foreign language teaching becomes one of the great disciplines in the humanities and general education, if we put it in its communicative setting.

Encapsulating the chapter

A young man in the university in which I teach told me of his deep respect and affection for a German teacher–how much he had learned from the professor. I responded, "A great teacher, you are saying!" The student looked puzzled for a moment, as if he had not been heard, and then answered, "Well, I don't know about that. I didn't learn much German." Then he added, "But he is a great man, a great man. The way he talked to us when we tried to speak German. . . . I don't know. . . . The kind of insights I got as he slid back and forth between German and broken English." His lips pursed. "No, not a great teacher." Then a start "But I'm glad I had him. A great person." He looked into the distance and his head kept nodding ever so slightly.

I held my silence, but I remember with deep emotion. The student is my son.

The meaning of language to the instructor

Internalization of learning

To put it drably, the point of this section is the internalization of learning. What does the language you teach mean to you?

We are told that we forget about 85 percent of what we learn. While the brain is a remarkable computer, its storage capacity is limited. Indeed, understanding may be the compensation for our storage limitations, for as we begin to feel "input overload," we group the data into categories or generalizations. What we call understanding is, at least in part, this bundling of details into abstract packets. At the substantive level, therefore, education is a process of reorganizing our learning into higher and higher levels of abstraction, remembering just enough of the substantive detail in order to document.

But the above view is a cognitive statement, a rational, analytical autopsy which is interesting essentially as an intellectual escape. *Real effective teaching communicates to the student the great value of a discipline to the joy of living.* If what we know does not make our lives meaningful and deeply satisfying, the knowing is not worth knowing. A profound teacher of astronomy sees life through his telescope, and the feelings he experiences as some new perception swims into his ken arouse the adventurous freedoms of his childhood.

I can relate these thoughts to my memory of studying Virgil in high school.

J. I. Rainey was a portly man of thin silvery hair and robust humor. We students would slowly and unsurely translate a few lines, and then with great joy Mr. Rainey would describe the beauty of the imagery—which had escaped us in the matching of English and Latin words. I cannot recall a line of Virgil, but I dimly know his world, for at moments he opened the door for me to view a world as alive for Mr. Rainey as that which we saw when longingly we looked out the window of the classroom. It may be fantasy, but I nurture the belief that I would remember a certain line about the plowing of a furrow, and others, had there been less anxiety in the whole business of my learning as a schoolboy.

Sensing the student's idealized image

To know a person's dreams

The communicative power of the teacher depends in large measure upon his capacity to open himself to the student and to show how his aspirations were, at least in part, attained in his teaching. Mr. Rainey was a poet at heart and probably in his moments of yearning wrote as Virgil. It was this revelation, accurate or inaccurate, that made an impact that persisted for decades while the memory of countless other classes and teachers has vanished.

A person is more than his behavior. He is that and his aspirations. Many teachers (communicators) send few messages because they do not become a whole person to the student.

The teacher who succeeds in full measure knows not only the behavior of the student, but the student's aspirations. Indeed, it is more important—if my interpretation of my experiences is valid—for the teacher to sense the student's aspirations than the student's behavior. The act of teaching with greatest power evolves from the teacher's sense of the student's dreams for himself. Because of this, grading and accountability emphases may go awry. The teacher caught in comparing the performance of students sees students only as partial persons. He is comparing the wrong things, unless he wants to teach by threat and demand. The appropriate comparison is between the student's performance and his idealized self.

The most effective teacher knows his student personally. He finds time to converse sufficiently to sense the student's basic tendencies. The information he accumulates for this description does not come so much from what the student says, but from the way he says it. If we feel how it must feel to walk, look, move, gesture, and sound the way the student does, we gain access to him as the person he is tending toward. This we must accept as valid for him. When we have this knowledge and respect it, we know the assignment that succeeds.

Some very effective teachers are intuitive in this sensing of the prevailing directions in the student's life. They follow hunches. The knowledge does not rise to the verbal level. It must exist at the verbal level only when hunches do not work.

Eye contact and communication

Internalization of experience

I close with a concrete problem, if for no other reason than to keep in sharp focus the precise observation and its communicative meaning. Usually when a person listens, he looks most of the time at the speaker and very often into his eyes (Argyle, 1). Most of us understand better if we look at a person we are listening to, and most of us do the same thing when we are unconsciously talking to a person. We look away when we are having difficulty with our thought. In the language of popular psychology, we turn our eyes inward. We look up and away, to the right or left.

The teacher of foreign language must handle the problem. To insist that the student look at you as he talks may block his communication. Certainly this will vary from student to student. But my hunch is this: The teacher who can teach so that many students learn to look at him as they talk in the foreign tongue has understood the perspectives of this chapter and does not find them alien.

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Rationale for language study

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Why study foreign languages in the 1970s? How persuasive are traditional arguments, and what makes them particularly meaningful to the students of today? The reader must remember to distinguish between learner reasons and teacher reasons, for they are not always synonymous. In the past we have perhaps unknowingly justified foreign language study on grounds that applied to a minority of students, and as a result we have been neglecting large numbers of people who could and should have been in our classrooms. It is time for us to re-evaluate our objectives and our methods and to be sure that our curricula are still valid and effective.

Symptoms of a problem

We foreign language teachers are not only marketing an expensive commodity that seems to be meeting a great deal of sales resistance; we are also facing an enormous amount of competition. We are furthermore challenged on grounds of the expenditures involved, for a foreign language program is expensive to operate, and it is costly in time and effort for students to learn. As a result of cries of protest on many college and university campuses against the study of foreign languages, the language requirement has been eliminated or reduced in the curricula of many universities.

Resistance to FL education

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Various indications lead us to believe that our clientele is dwindling and switching to our competitors. Foreign language enrollments have dropped significantly in important school systems. *The New York Times* (53) reports, for example, that some years ago Denver's 96,000-student public school system had 15,000 youngsters studying foreign languages; by 1969 the enrollment had dropped to 10,250 students (p. 59). The Dade County school system in Miami, Florida, has also suffered noticeable declines. Elizabeth Alonso, the only foreign language consultant in the system, comments in the same article, "I'm amazed that foreign language education has survived at all" (53, p. 59).

Declining FL enrollments

Foreign language study is suffering at the college level as well (Alden, 2; Brod, 14, 15; Schaefer, 64). A number of prestigious universities, including Yale, Brown, and Stanford, have abolished the undergraduate foreign language requirement. Duke and U.C.L.A. have reduced the number of language courses required, and many other schools have been considering such action. The Modern Language Association's 1970 Survey of Foreign Language Requirements (Brod, 14) revealed that 14.6 percent of the 786 institutions responding to the survey had already abolished the foreign language requirement for the Bachelor of Arts degree and that an additional 30.8 percent had reduced it. In the spring of 1973 the foreign language research staff of the Modern Language Association completed work on its Fall 1972 Survey of Foreign Language Registrations in U.S. Institutions of Higher Education—the 11th in a series of surveys conducted since 1958 (Brod, 15). Foreign language registration figures for the fall of 1972 are compared with those for the fall of 1970. This comparison reveals a 9.2 percent drop in foreign language registration. Brod explains that "the downward trend in college foreign language enrollments is especially serious in light of continuing (although slight) growth of college enrollments in general, since it means that the role played by foreign languages in the U.S. college curriculum is diminishing more rapidly than the absolute number of students taking language courses." Greek, Russian, and less commonly taught languages such as Hebrew, Chinese, and Japanese are the only languages that showed gains between 1970 and 1972. Brod notes that Spanish accounts for 40.3 percent of the total registrations among the five most popular languages, ranking first in 29 states. Foreign language enrollments in two-year colleges have also declined; Brod indicates that this decline is indeed significant because growth in higher education is now primarily limited to the two-year schools (pp. 54–55).

Anxiety among FL teachers

Some foreign language teachers are "running scared"—with good reason. We have seen our enrollments decline, and we know that our future could become even gloomier if we are unable to effect a change.

Current attitudes toward education

Preoccupation with college

One of our major faults in the recent past has been our preoccupation with foreign languages for the college student; the emphasis of our programs has been on getting young men and women into and out of college. Perhaps this has been true of American education in general, though few other areas have devoted so great a proportion of their effort to this narrow focus. Keats (41) writes that "going to college has merely become the general activity of the intelligent young to whom we offer nothing else" (p. 30). Riesman and Jencks (59) explain this situation in the following manner: "The American college exists as a vast WPA project which gives promising adolescents work to do while keeping them out of the job market and also keeping several hundred thousand faculty members off the streets" (p. 76).

College students today

Sweet (80) rightly points out that the problem of declining enrollments is affecting other academic subjects and is therefore not limited to the foreign languages (p. 2). Academic apathy or downright disinterest is a problem that is not limited to higher education. The trouble with some of our clients at all levels is that they have never really wanted anything badly enough to work for it.

However, there are signs that student attitudes have changed in the past few years, and some professors feel that today's young adults are more diligent than those of the late 1960s (Strasheim, 75). In addition, the birth rate has declined, and the college boom has passed. This suggests that in the future there will probably be more serious students in the college classroom (but fewer faculty jobs in four-year colleges and universities). In addition, there will be greater emphasis on community and vocational colleges. With the cease-fire in Vietnam and the discontinuance of the draft, students no longer stay in school merely to avoid being drafted. Thus, enrollments are leveling off on campuses throughout the nation.

Stephen H. Spurr (7), President of The University of Texas at Austin, said that "what is keeping administrators worrying nights now is trying to find a transition from an expanding university to a steady-state university!" Spurr explains that universities and colleges will no longer operate like "boom towns" and that "changes in faculty and programs will have to be made by substitution rather than addition." This situation is described even more graphically by W. A. Roecker (62), President of the Iowa Foreign Language Association: "The bonanza of ever-increasing school enrollments and comparable school budgets is now merely an historical event" (p. 5).

End of the college boom

Instead of sitting and pathetically whining, "Why should this happen to us?" we must accept the challenge that this difficult period offers in order to develop even stronger programs in the future than we had just a few years ago. To do this we must first take a hard look at the present state of affairs in our profession. We must ask ourselves *why* our students have been going elsewhere. Our first reaction may be to blame our low headcount on the loss of the foreign language requirement in many colleges and universities. Admittedly, it can partially explain the decline, especially in elementary and intermediate courses.

Declining upper-division and graduate enrollments

However, registration figures in upper-division university classes are also revealing. Beanblossom and Hanzeli (10), who have examined the figures at The University of Washington, point out that we foreign language teachers should not feel that our current predicament is entirely the fault of the colleges for having abolished or relaxed foreign language requirements. Their study reveals a loss of interest in foreign language study at the upper-division and graduate levels; enrollments decreased in these courses as early as 1966. This was clearly before the student protests of 1968:

> "Events" of 1968 on the campuses and the public schools did not break the growth of foreign languages in the U.S. and specifically in the State of Washington. They had their effect but they took place at a time when the popularity of foreign languages was already on the wane.

> It is particularly remarkable that such a decline would occur in the period 1966–68 when no adverse market conditions prevailed and there was considerable "institutionalized" incentive to specialize in foreign languages both on the undergraduate and graduate level (p. 37).

Number of FL degrees

To determine whether there might be similar findings at other institutions, this writer examined the records of the College of Arts and Sciences graduating classes 1965–70 at the University of Texas at Austin. During this five-year period among a total of 10,364 B.A. degrees awarded, 847 went to foreign language majors. Foreign language degrees were distributed in the following manner: Spanish, 43.9 percent; French, 28.1 percent; German, 13.7 percent; Russian, 5.6 percent; Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Portuguese, Italian, and Czech, 8.7 percent. These percentages remained roughly constant from year to year. In 1965, 6.6 percent of all B.A. degrees granted went to foreign language majors. In 1968 the percentage was 8.7. In 1970 the percentage was 7.9. All we can conclude is that during the years between 1965 and 1970 these percentages fluctuated in an almost random manner between 6.6 percent and 8.7 percent. However, the total attendance at The University increased considerably during this time, from 28,868 in 1965 to 42,841 in 1970.

Increasing popularity of other majors

Let us compare these statistics with those in other fields: Perhaps the Department of Psychology shows the most dramatic growth. In 1965, 4.8 percent of all B.A. degrees went to psychology majors, whereas in 1970, 11.4 percent of all B.A. candidates were psychology majors. Another spectacular rise may be found in the Government Department. In 1965, 6.4 percent of B.A. graduates were government majors, with 11.6 percent recorded for 1970. Mathematics, which rose dramatically following Sputnik, had begun to slide. In 1965, 16.2 percent of B.A. degrees went to mathematics majors, whereas there were only 14.1 percent in 1970. An even larger decline was noted in English majors. In 1965, English claimed 15.0 percent of all B.A. candidates. In 1970 the percentage was down to 10.4. In 1965, 2.7 percent of all degrees granted in the College of Arts and Sciences went to those earning a B.S. in chemistry. In 1970 the percentage had dropped to 1.8. Could not these enrollment patterns suggest that our students were dissatisfied for a longer period of time than we had ever realized?

Attitudes in college foreign language departments

That we are largely responsible for the slump we are in is entirely plausible. Not only have we been teaching almost exclusively for the college audience (even at lower levels), but we have also not offered our college students what they were capable of and entitled to learn. We have behaved as if literary analysis were the final goal for all of our students. Zelson (87) feels that the study of literature has dominated the total language program in most colleges and universities:

Emphasis on literature

> There seems little doubt that in actual practice the most important goal has become "to enrich one's own personal culture through the study of the literature and philosophy of another people," and a rather narrow application of it; and it is this objective, carried to a logical conclusion at any given institution, that has determined directly or indirectly, the pace and content of the total program, irrespective of the needs, interests, and abilities of the students. This same objective has directed the makeup of a language faculty, and in turn has militated against a diversified curriculum (p. 27).

It was easy for us to fall into this trap, for in most universities a graduate degree in a foreign language has meant a degree in literature. In other words, we have been teaching what we have known best and what we *assumed* our students needed and wanted to learn.

As soon as possible we shall have to determine the place and importance of literature in our departmental offerings. Are foreign language departments to be primarily departments of literature? If so, we ought to change their names and accept the fact that enrollments will continue to decline. Gould (31) writes:

> I am convinced that the study of the foreign literature merely for its own sake is not going to attract large numbers of students today, for the simple reason that the ideal of the Renaissance man cannot be realized by a significant percentage of our students in this day and age (p. 34).

If, however, we are not to be departments of literature, we must explore our full capabilities and expand our offerings accordingly. But more important than just introducing courses here and there into our curricula, we must feel that what we are adding is worthwhile. We must remove the stigma often attached to what is not literary, both in colleges and in the upper levels of high school programs. Unfortunately, in many colleges, being assigned to teach a nonliterary course today is too often a sign of failure. Our very best teachers must teach these new courses and not the "second-rate citizens" found in almost every department.

An educationist might diagnose our ailment as an attitudinal problem and tell us that we are going through a kind of identity crisis. We do not know any longer just what we are; therefore, attempts to discuss profitably today's rationale for language study may be fruitless until we come to terms with our own biases as teachers and, in particular, until college professors are willing to grant respectability to what is not literary.

Teacher training

Little by little throughout the years segments of the profession have relinquished their academic responsibilities. One of the most important functions of an academic discipline should be the training of teachers, yet how many college language departments are truly committed to this task? In the eyes of many university professors, landing a high school teaching job is regarded as a "booby prize" for those who do not succeed in a Ph.D. program. In too many language departments either the training of teachers is ignored or it is regarded as a necessary evil. Inferior students are often routed into teacher-education programs. In fact, a large number of college faculty have tried to disassociate themselves from the preparation of teachers; this is, essentially, the origin of departments of education.

Courses in contemporary culture

Another example of our refusal to handle our own responsibilities is in the teaching of civilization or culture. In a recent year several students in the teacher-certification program at one large university asked whether the French Department would offer a course in 20th-Century French Civilization. Although they wanted to learn about Gothic cathedrals and *les splendeurs de Versailles*, they found glaring gaps in their knowledge of contemporary French art, music, cinema, and politics, in addition to having few ideas about how the French live today. They felt that high school students were most receptive to learning language through civilization and that this was one area that was not included in their programs. After great difficulty, that particular department approved the creation of this new course but clearly wrote into the catalogue that it could not count toward a major in French. One of the principal arguments against the course was that there was no one in the department who could teach it. Another, as might be expected, was that students would take this new course *instead* of a "far more beneficial" advanced literature course. The course was never offered, and as a result it was deleted from the catalogue.

Deficiencies in FL departments

Apparently that department was too self-satisfied to feel embarrassed. It would seem that in any department several members of the faculty should be interested in and able to teach contemporary French civilization, even if it has to be team taught. This particular department seemed to assume that students would select whatever courses were put before them. If they want course *x*, and only *y* and *z* are being given, one cannot assume that they will automatically register for *y* or *z*.

Bomse (13) suggests that we are partially responsible for our decline in enrollments and that if we were not so narrow-minded and insensitive we might be able to correct the situation:

> If all of us, in high schools, community colleges, four-year institutions, and even graduate schools, took the interests and needs of our students a little more into consideration, we might be able to reverse the downward trend. Perhaps if less stress were placed on the Ph.D. and publication and more on real fluency in the language taught and the awareness of student and community needs, faculties could and would devote more of their time to looking for new horizons (pp. 40–41).

Insensitivity to needs of students

Somehow we have tried to force all of our clients into the same academic mold. We have given many reasons to justify our position in various curricula, but there seems to have been relatively little relationship between our expressed rationale and our offerings. Strasheim (75) very accurately points out that "in our thinking, every FL student, whether he began as a third grader, a junior high schooler, or a high school freshman, was treated as a foreign language 'major' from the day of his enrollment" (p. 90).

We have not seemed to realize that there are different reasons for studying languages at all levels. There are many possible reasons for foreign language study in college, but how often have we seen departments in which the only students who seemed important were the Ph.D. candidates? Edgerton (25) writes that "it is regrettable that most college teachers of foreign languages now seem to be concentrating all their energies on producing more future teachers of more future teachers" (p. 9). In most universities our clientele on the undergraduate level alone is extremely diverse, yet have we realized that the rationale for language study could well differ depending on whether we are dealing with language majors, those satisfying a degree requirement, or those taking either an elementary or an advancd course because they think they might enjoy it? Rivers (60) and Whitcomb (85) write that we must recognize the many needs of our clients and try to satisfy them.

Student attitudes

The current state of society is another factor that must be kept in mind when discussing a rationale for language study. In the late 1960s college campuses all over the country were scenes of protests and confrontation, not only because of the Vietnam War but also because of mounting tensions over civil rights. In "The Student Evolution" (77, 78, 79), a three-part series in the *Alcalde*, the alumni magazine of The University of Texas at Austin, there is a lengthy discussion on the student of today and particularly on how he has evolved on the UT campus since 1967. These articles are based on a survey conducted by a senior journalism class of 26 students in the spring of 1973. The authors define the effect of the "revolution" on curricula and teaching methods:

Impact on the curriculum

> The answer lies in compromise—student pressure has encouraged The University to try to make curricula more flexible. Students want more choices: more electives, less language requirements, more courses that relate to the nature of man and to the community. The authoritarian dogmatic approach in classroom lectures, a customary form in many classes of earlier years, today finds scant acceptance (78, p. 14).

Unfortunately many foreign language classes are rigid and lack flexibility, which may be one reason students now object to this requirement. Another is that foreign language learning demands discipline, and as the authors of "The Student Evolution" point out, "Above all, students don't respect the idea of learning by discipline or pain. All life and learning are seen as pure pleasure" (p. 14).

New attitudes of students

We might also be tempted to say that many of our students are lazy. But some professors feel that "today's students are more serious about academic work than they were in 1967 and 1968, when they were preoccupied with political issues." C. Richard King, Professor of Journalism, is one of several who does not agree: "Now students want things given to them. They don't want to research to check the accuracy of their facts" (p. 15). Are students really lazy or are they simply more selective in budgeting study time?

Perhaps we should also distinguish between laziness and lack of interest. The editors of the *Alcalde* cite another professor who points out that "students are not willing to work as hard unless they can see a worthwhile purpose in all they are asked to do" (p. 15); herein lies one of our greatest challenges as foreign language teachers. Not only have we been unsuccessful in convincing many of our clients that there are valid reasons for buying our wares, but we have often failed to fit our courses to our rationale (Vocolo, 84).

We teachers do not view the concept of "purpose" as our students do. Being older than the large majority of our customers, we have learned to be patient, and we do not mind hard work as long as we know there will be something to be gained from it in the future. Many of our students insist on almost immediate results. They will no longer "buy" our telling them, "Study hard, be diligent, and when you're a senior in college you'll be able to utter a few words in Spanish, French, German, or Russian." Most students define the word *purpose* as *use* (and specifically *career use*) and *worthwhile* as *right now*. Naturally one cannot develop language skills instantly. The basics of any foreign language cannot be sugarcoated, and we cannot learn material for our students. We must realize that complete mastery of a language (even our native language) is a lifetime goal. Because most of our customers do not plan to teach foreign languages, we must be very careful not to make our students expect complete mastery of a language after only a couple years of study. Most important, we must point out that there are fully attainable goals that can be reached fairly easily and can be of great value to the student personally as well as in many careers (Wilkins, 86). We must see to it that these goals are attained in our classes.

Importance of emphasizing immediate benefits

Career-oriented students

If we want to promote foreign language study, we must come to terms with our current "era of 'grim professionalism.'" Singer (71) analyzes this situation: "The 'career crunch' is a real and unsettling phenomenon. As the Ph.D. market shrinks, a doctorate no longer guarantees security." He explains that "in an era of economic insecurity the rigors of law and medical school represent for many students the path of least resistance," and he points out that two thirds of Yale's current freshman class want to go to law or medical school (p. 37). Students no longer are willing to explore or experiment, and academic pressures are so severe that the libraries are almost always full. Blum (Singer, 71) laments this new fashion which he views as a danger to liberal education: "Premature professionalism is interference with the concept of a liberal education. I don't blame Yale for this–this is a cultural movement, and the universities get messages from the culture–but I do wish that people would express more concern about life and less about career" (p. 37). Professor Blum is not alone in his feelings, but it is terribly difficult to convince a student to major in art history, English, or a foreign language, because he does not often see economic security in them. Brown (79) explains that "the tighter job market has cut down the number of alternatives students have, so they are seeking an education which is marketable" (p. 12).

Griffin (Singer, 72) interprets this present academic fashion as a new kind of "commitment":

> Perhaps we've developed a new notion of what it means to be "committed." Not long ago the Vietnam War gave students the chance to organize and commit themselves. Scholarship, which had to be relevant, took a back seat to social concerns. When the cold, dark wind blowing in from the real world was the war, it offered a choice between life and death. Today the cold, dark wind is economic insecurity, and the choices are between a medical or a legal career (p. 30).

To describe this trend as national, just because it is happening at Yale, would be foolhardy, but other schools are not immune to these effects. At The University of Texas, for example, the number of pre-medical and pre-law majors has increased, and the competition for entrance into graduate professional schools is so keen that students are working overtime to try to remove any blemish from their academic records. When a student drops a course after the 12th day of classes, the symbol Q is generally recorded on his permanent record card. Very often pre-medical students have requested that their drop cards be back-dated (to before the 12th day of classes) to avoid having admissions committees of medical schools see any Qs on the transcripts. They are convinced that one or two Qs will keep them from becoming doctors.

Concern for security

In a collection of interviews entitled "Why Are You Studying so Hard?" conducted by Bruce Howard (Singer, 72), students showed their concern for a career-oriented education. Judy Fabricant, class of '76, gives the following explanation of the situation: "I think people are studying so much now because they're scared of being 50 years old and poor. The job market was better five years ago and you could afford to experiment with courses and relax in college." Gene Stuart, also a sophomore, describes the drastic change that has taken place at Yale within the past couple of years: "I took a year and a half off after my freshman year and I was really shocked when I got back. When I left, Yale was a liberal arts institution—people were choosing courses and studying just because they were interested in learning. Now Yale's a way station for law and medical schools" (p. 32).

These quotations suggest that students are extremely concerned about the job market and view a college education almost entirely as a means to unlock the door of future economic security. They suggest, too, that students will evaluate each course they take almost exclusively in terms of tangible value toward a specific career goal (Scully, 69); in some ways this is unfortunate. At Yale attempted solutions to the problem of economic insecurity might lie in pre-medical and pre-law programs, but schools all over the nation are having to cope with this problem, and the name of the game seems to be "career." Because of inflation and rising educational costs sending children to college is becoming progressively more difficult; so it is not surprising that, when a student finally announces to his parents what his major will be, their immediate reaction is often, "What can you do with *that*?"

Preserving traditional values

In an attempt to keep in step with the times, we foreign language teachers must not turn our departments into trade schools. We must have a variety of offerings at all levels. Some of our courses should definitely be career oriented, but we must also teach our students in all of our classes how to think and how to learn on their own, for they will not always have us to guide them, and the world will probably continue to change more rapidly than in the past few decades.

FL as preparation for the future

Grittner (32) calls attention to the potential hazards of "the career education bandwagon" and points out that it seems "both dangerous and dishonest to make too close a tie between humanistic subject matter and career goals" (p. 244). He goes on to say that "the broadly educated person is 'valuable' to society precisely *because* he has transcended the minimum job specifications of people who are only trained" (p. 244). If we train our students for only one specific job, their economic security may not last long. Hartke, Associate Dean of Yale College in charge of career guidance, notes that, "In so many cases, though, what a student will be doing in 20 years probably hasn't even been invented yet" (Singer, 71, p. 38). Because of technical advances we are faced with changes in our society each and every day. In fact, as Toffler (83) points out, things have been changing so rapidly that we often feel like foreigners in our own country. Jarvis (40) and Rivers (61) have discussed the effects of this "future shock" on our clientele and have seen foreign language education as relevant to it. In fact, Jarvis sees learning to cope with a lack of familiar cues as a direct outcome of foreign language study and as ideal training for coping with future shock.

New roles for the foreign language teacher

One of our most difficult but extremely important responsibilities as foreign language teachers is to serve as publicity agents. We must continually be aware of the ways in which foreign languages can serve our students, and we must be willing to reevaluate our offerings so that they remain useful to our clientele. This may mean that we will have to discard some of

The FL teacher as a salesperson

our methods and even learn to rethink our problems. De Bono (21) points out that most people see only one solution to a problem, and he refers to these people as vertical thinkers. His book *New Think* is a presentation of lateral thinking and the advantages to be gained from being able to think flexibly and to view any given problem more creatively. Much of our thinking with regard to foreign language teaching seems to be vertical. The reasons we have given for studying a language have usually been *our* reasons. They are real benefits of language study—outcomes that will make him a "better" person. But they are sometimes not meaningful or persuasive to a student who must elect a course. We seem to have overlooked the many changes that have been taking place all around us, and we have not considered the implications of those changes. The study of a foreign language can have long-lasting value for our students, but is it true that what we are now teaching is always necessary or useful? Naturally the word *useful* is relative, and it would be hard to *promise* a student that studying French, Spanish, German, Russian, or another language would be useful to him in 20 years, since no one knows what this student will be doing in 20 years: The world's future demands are not completely known to us. That is why our courses must be worthwhile for the students on a fairly immediate basis. Our offerings must affect our students' lives now. Foreign language is a basic skill, like English or mathematics, and students often object to these basic courses because they appear to have no immediate relevance. We must therefore do all that we can to convince students and the general public that foreign language is indeed relevant.

Demand for relevance and need for basic skills

Because foreign language study has so often been unrelated to the students' contemporary world, our field has often been attacked. Influential community leaders tell youngsters to study science instead of French. They are like Schulz's Sally Brown who, while protesting against going to kindergarten, finally resigns herself to her fate but only on the condition that she will not have to learn Latin (65).

Attitudes of community leaders

Too often we have misdirected our publicity efforts. Most of our publicity has been directed toward the foreign language specialist. How often do we point out to our first-year students the rewards of limited language study? We seem to forget that foreign language is one area in which a little knowledge is *not* a dangerous thing.

Value of limited FL study

Mounting fear resulting from the decline in foreign language enrollments has inspired an increased number of articles and pamphlets that defend the cause of the languages. In fact, the market is deluged with such apologia. Unfortunately, many not only give an incomplete picture of what we have to offer, they often are not written for the right audience. Most appear in journals designed for foreign language teachers. We must reach out to our communities. High schools have already begun to do this by inviting counselors, administrators, board-of-education members, other teachers in the system, and influential voters to their various functions (De Pue, 23). In May 1973 *The Foreign Language Courier* devoted an entire issue to "what our colleagues think of foreign languages." This issue was prepared primarily to provide high school foreign language teachers with ammunition to justify their subject to students, administrators, and members of the school board.

Traditional reasons for FL study

FL as an attribute of the aristocracy

Entirely too much emphasis has been placed on teaching languages to an intellectual elite: college-bound students. Curricula have been designed for these chosen few. Thomas (82) reminds us of the time when foreign languages were considered a necessary accomplishment of a gentle person and "as long as the masses who were being educated in the colleges were basically middle class, striving for upward mobility and desiring to be marked by tokens of gentility, the established system survived" (p. 9). Today, however, colleges are no longer reserved for the social or even intellectual elite.

Gould (31) describes the current situation in higher education with great accuracy: "Whether we like it or not, we are now truly in the age of mass education and very few of us, I believe, in this room will ever have the privilege of devoting our teaching lives exclusively to Ph.D. candidates whose sole interest is our own particular area of expertise" (p. 34).

Most college graduates are not interested in acquiring or maintaining the attributes of the aristocracy.

FL in the liberal education

In the past the training of a gentleman, defined as one who did not have to learn a trade or craft, was a liberal education, and foreign language study was a necessary component. Most present-day students expect to have to earn a living, and even the wealthy ones feel a moral obligation to be able to use their college educations in a practical way. If the term *liberal education* means anything at all in 1974, it means an education that is broad enough to prepare students for continued learning. Foreign languages are useful in this respect, but most other subjects in the college curriculum also prepare students for continued learning. As a matter of fact, *every department* could, and perhaps should, offer courses that contribute to a liberal education. Even engineering, which is generally considered a highly specialized field, has much to offer liberal arts students. Energy and pollution are certainly concerns of any educated person, and some knowledge of the fundamentals of engineering is necessary to understand them.

FL as mental discipline

Another standard justification for foreign language study is its value for mental discipline (Thomas, 82). Roland L. Elliott, Special Assistant to President Nixon, gives the following statement from the president: "It is my belief that Latin for the high school student has tremendous value as a subject that both disciplines and trains the mind." Senator George McGovern also found his study of Latin beneficial: "I studied Latin for four years, and I do believe it is a helpful language course. It provides tough discipline and intellectual training that is a continuing benefit, although Latin is a dead language" (9).

Similar claims have been made with regard to the study of other foreign languages. Jane M. Waterson, Assistant Dean of the Law School at the University of Michigan, states that foreign language training is useful for future lawyers:

> Furthermore, as an academic discipline, foreign languages have their place in any student's program. Students often have difficulty in this area and thus must put in a good deal of effort in order to learn the material well. One who is accustomed to such discipline in study in any area will be more fully prepared for law school work (Sweet, 80, p. 4).

Because many subjects can provide intellectual training and mental discipline, this reason would not always persuade a student to elect a foreign language instead of algebra or chemistry.

FL for one's native language

Many people testify that knowledge of a foreign language helps one to understand his native language. Erich R. Segal, author of *Love Story*, makes a comment upon the value of Latin in learning English:

> I appreciate your interest in Latin, which has enriched my life. But I would respectfully point out several errors in English made in your letter: "immense," "response" and "professor" were all incorrectly spelled. If you study your Latin harder, you'll avoid this in the future (9).

Newscaster Harry Reasoner feels that Latin is of great value to speakers of English:

> Yes, I did study Latin–for two years–and I am strongly convinced that anyone who really uses the English language should also study Latin. I never really understood the structure of language until I studied Latin, and I feel it is ideal for that purpose (45).

Although the study of a foreign language does give one a better knowledge of his native language, students ask if this alone is sufficient to justify giving it top priority in a modern curriculum. Why not devote this time to additional hours of English instruction and even some linguistics?

Reasons to study foreign languages

Competition from other academic areas

Traditional arguments for studying a foreign language are insufficient for choosing to study a foreign language *instead of* another subject. The choice a student must make is not between a foreign language and nothing at all but between a foreign language and other useful subjects. We must ask ourselves what the study of a foreign language can do that the study of another subject cannot do: It can teach *a specific language* for use as a tool in a number of ways.

Unique value of FL study

The ability to use a foreign language increases a person's capacity to communicate and should be justified on that basis. Reinert (57) points out that there is great intrinsic value to language learning in the entire educational process and that it is dishonest to justify our place in the curriculum in terms of "potential fringe benefits for a select few" or in some way that can be interpreted solely in terms of dollars and cents (p. 205). The long-range goals of this kind of study should be made clear to students early in the language program.

"Truth in Packaging"

> Each language which a person can control gives him another way of understanding the world, another insight into reality. The greater his understanding of reality, the better chance he has of exerting some control over reality and having real control of his own destiny (p. 208).

Controlling one's "reality"

He writes that in the past we often failed to give real *reasons*, and our students become disenchanted. Freeman (30) states: "It is a great mistake to think merely of vocational usefulness" (p. 146) when promoting foreign language training.

Cultural barriers

Rivers (61) claims that foreign language study can contribute to a student's "quality of life, to his development of critical and moral judgment, to his ability to adapt and readapt to changing attitudes and circumstances":

> The . . . contribution of foreign language study that is truly educational, in the sense that it expands the student's personal experience of his environment, and truly humanistic in that it adds a new dimension to his thinking is the opportunity it provides for breaking through monolingual and monocultural bonds. Such an experience reveals to the student that there are other ways of saying things, other values and attitudes than those to which his native language and culture have habituated him. Through this process he may develop new attitudes to ideas and people that will reduce his bondage to the familiar and the local while increasing his sympathy for persons of other cultures and languages. The new-generation student in our schools is internationalist and interculturalist in his aspirations; he is also brutally direct in demanding the rationale of what we are doing and what we are asking him to do. This basic contribution which foreign language can make to his development is one which he would welcome, but he must see that what we do in our classrooms really achieves such a purpose or he will drop out as soon as he conveniently may (pp. 113–114).

These views have received continued, strong support in recent years (Menton, 48; 51; Smith, 73).

Alter (3) points out that it is a mistake to talk of foreign language study almost exclusively in terms of an educational requirement rather than to emphasize its intrinsic value. She justifies the study of foreign languages by stating the traditional reasons that show how foreign language skills result in a personal gain for the student, explaining how foreign language study is a necessary part of a liberal education and how it will make better Americans. However, she goes further and gives the various practical reasons for foreign language study and explains how foreign language requirements are dictated by the development of the modern world. Alter realizes that too much of the foreign language training now being given is at the college level and states that a great portion of it could and should be introduced in the elementary school. She seems to support Alden's (1) statement that "the language requirement is the official formulation of a principle that the United States needs foreign language" (p. 13). It is regrettable that something so essential as the study of a foreign language can be defended only in terms of a requirement, but since this is the case, Alter does so by giving 36 reasons for retaining it, being careful to apply them to the student of today.

FL in the elementary school

"What has been lacking in the past and still is lacking in most of our present programs is an overriding philosophical awareness of the idea that language study is at heart a humanistic endeavor with a vital humanizing power" (50, p. 4). The Steering Committee of the Modern Language Association's National Foreign Language Program for the 1970s stresses that "language is a function not simply of the human mind but of the culture in which minds have evolved" and that a foreign language "is the medium for expressing the intellectual and emotional life of that culture." This rationale "carries the rewards of self-enrichment, both for the individual and the society" (p. 4).

Language and a country's culture

Carton (17) writes that one should think of college language training "not as a completed whole but as a basis on which to build" (p. 25). This important fact is rarely pointed out to our students. One cannot master any subject in two or three years. When they realize that their limited exposure to language study was just an introduction to that language, many students feel their time is being wasted. We must be honest and warn them that they should not expect to develop fluency while satisfying a requirement. We should remind our clients that the introduction to a foreign language in school can be preparation for further learning; real mastery requires years of practice. Carton

Foundation for future learning

calls attention to Henry Adams, who states in his *Education* that "the subjects most worth pursuing were mathematics and modern languages, for these enabled one to carry studies further in later life" (p. 25).

FL for personal enjoyment

Carton has developed the habit of reading German either before retiring in the evening or while going to or from work on a commuter train. Naturally his background in German was weak when he began, but he has made much progress, and he now reads with relative ease. The personal pleasure he derives from this activity is immeasurable. Reading a foreign language can be fun in the same way that solving puzzles can be enjoyable. It also gives one access to literature that is not otherwise available. Students must be reminded that some works are almost impossible to translate and that many translations are actually paraphrases of the original works.

Limitations of translation

Because they are used to thinking in terms of more immediate rewards, the reasons for foreign language study should be explained to students in ways they can understand. We must convince our students, particularly in beginning classes, that what they are learning can be useful now and is not only preparation for a future course. Foreign language study is more than memorizing verb conjugations. It can be related to fashions, cuisine, politics, science, and other areas in which students are interested.

We could more easily convince our clients of the usefulness of foreign language study if they would only believe that today's world is not at all monolingual (Schaefer, 63; Schwarz, 66). How often have we heard the naive refrain "Oh, but *everybody* speaks English there!" The need for communication with and understanding of people who do *not* speak English is constantly increasing. The globe has become smaller during the past two decades. Travel time across the Atlantic Ocean decreased; the number of pieces of mail sent abroad from the United States increased 120 percent since 1950; the value of world exports between free-world nations rose 565 percent in the same period; the number of Americans going overseas increased 1,083 percent between 1950 and 1972, whereas there has been a rise of 1,219 percent in the number of foreigners traveling to the United States; overseas telephone calls to and from the United States increased from 900,000 in 1950 to 35,000,000 in 1972, a significant increase of 3,789 percent (38). Music, fashions, books, and

Our interconnected world

magazines have also had a strong influence on the "crossculturization" process. Today we wear English fashions, watch Italian moving pictures, cook according to French recipes, drive German automobiles, and listen to Japanese radios. To expect everyone to use English is not only unrealistic but insulting.

The "disadvantaged" American child

We who claim to want the very best of everything for our children often allow them to grow up with cultural blinders—"disadvantaged" in a real sense. We would not dream of withholding from them measles shots or smallpox vaccine. If they need eyeglasses we make sure they have them. We give them music lessons, dancing lessons, and gymnastics lessons without expecting them to attain professional competence in these activities. Yet the study of another language and people is easily dismissed as unimportant. We can no longer consider foreign language study a frill. It is a necessity for breaking down barriers in our ever-changing multilingual world.

Governor Ronald Reagan expresses his opinions on this subject in the following letter to Miss Janice Costello:

> We in America are disadvantaged in a sense if you consider the opportunities of people who live in smaller countries near to those of other people who speak different languages. They are forced to learn to speak and understand languages other than their own. Perhaps this explains why we tend to overlook the necessity for making a real effort to bridge the language gap. The effort is necessary because we must get along with other nations and truly understand what they are saying to us. . . .
>
> Our understanding of language can break down the barriers of fear and the unknown in our relationships with other peoples. More important, it can put us on a person-to-person basis, and this is by far the most effective way of achieving our goal of world peace and understanding (29, p. 1).

For most people

Our country is one of the very few nations in the world where foreign languages are not taught universally to all school children. In many countries youngsters learn a second or third language, not for college entrance, but for survival. English is spoken by street vendors in Amsterdam and by chambermaids in Copenhagen. Foreign language proficiency should be as common in the United States as it is in Europe.

"To communicate with our own"—in America

The United States is a multilingual nation. Streeter (76) emphasizes that "the myth of monolingual America has receded into educational history" (p. 6). The 1970 Census Report of Spanish and Puerto Rican U.S. Population Totals (54) is extremely meaningful, particularly because it shows a definite increase since the previous census in 1960. California reported 3,101,589 persons of Spanish language or family name, 16 percent of the state's population; Texas reported a total of 2,059,671, or 18 percent of the state's population. In April 1973 Florida's Dade County was officially declared bilingual and bicultural, with English and Spanish as the official languages. Bomse (13) reports that there are more than 10 million Spanish-speaking people in the U.S. today, with almost 2,000,000 in the New York City area alone (p. 41). Spanish is not the only language other than English spoken by U.S. citizens. There are large communities of French-, Italian-, and German-speaking people, as well as many less numerous groups who speak Czech, Chinese, Yiddish, American Indian languages, and other foreign tongues. In New York City, for example, there are 200,000 speakers of French (Fisher, 27). Students should be reminded that one need not travel abroad to hear a foreign language, for right here in the United States "They don't *all* speak English" (De la Campa, 22).

Cultural conflict

Fisher (27) claims that "the foreign language problem of our own society is the 10 million Americans who do not speak English and the millions more who are scarred by the conflict between the dominant culture and a subculture." He says that one of the truly important reasons for learning foreign languages in our country today is "to communicate with our own French- or Spanish- or German-speaking citizens rather than to absorb European culture or do business abroad" (p. 9). Our community leaders must realize that not every American will learn English and that we have a responsibility to our ethnic and linguistic minorities (Beatie, 11). Fisher (27) calls attention to the parochial after-school programs that the Chinese have set up (similar to the Jewish Hebrew schools that have long existed) to conserve their language and folk traditions. He is convinced that if a language department refuses to take an active part in the linguistic concerns of its locality, "it can hardly complain when the demand for Molière or Goethe comes to justify a very small and remote staff" (p. 10).

Not only must we be able to speak to our non-English-speaking Americans, we must be able to communicate with our foreign tourists. *The Columbus Dispatch* (19) reports that in 1973 3.5 million overseas tourists discovered America. This number was an increase of 20 percent over 1972. Yet, we have not equipped ourselves to host these foreign guests. A group of French, Swiss, Dutch, and Belgian tourists, asked to rate a number of American services (recording 1 for the worst, and 10 for the best), gave foreign language knowledge 1.4.

Foreign visitors' attitudes

Sometimes Americans tend to feel superior to other nations, and we expect other people to learn our language to communicate with us. We can no longer afford to feel this way. Perhaps attitudes are beginning to change. In a recent letter to Ann Landers an angry reader wrote: "Now that the world is shrinking and travel is cheap, isn't it about time our kids learned to respect other cultures and realized that bigger doesn't necessarily mean better, and that richer doesn't mean superior?" (8).

American cultural chauvinism

More and more we Americans will realize that we cannot continue to live in isolation. The problems we will encounter will involve other nations and will require that we understand and be able to work together with them. Wilson Riles, Superintendent of Schools for the State of California, wrote the following statement concerning the necessity of foreign language training:

> Our technological advances make it imperative that we learn to communicate successfully with people of other lands—and through their native languages. The society of tomorrow will be a multi-lingual society, and our children must be prepared to meet the challenges of that society. . . .
>
> Only by a sound program of FL instruction with insight in cultures, can we eliminate the intellectual provincialism of American life and move from a predominantly monolingual to a multilingual society (28).

We are already recognizing that some of our current major problems are global in nature. Reischauer (58) states that "before long humanity will face many grave difficulties that can only be solved on a global scale. For this there must be a higher degree of understanding and a far greater capacity for cooperation between disparate peoples and nations than exists now"

Need for international cooperation

(p. 4). However, he states that education is not moving rapidly enough to produce the knowledge and attitudes necessary to solve these problems. In an interview with the Associated Press Reischauer explains that "the real problem is not so much technological substitution of new materials for resources on new kinds of energy. . . . The real question is whether we can develop an attitude of international cooperation to carry such things into effect." He is convinced that we must "develop a sense of community" before we can understand people from different nations and he feels that foreign language skills are essential: "There is no better way of making you conscious of things outside your own culture than to learn a foreign language, particularly one of a very different sort, like Japanese, Chinese or Hindu" (52).

What we must realize is that our need is not so much for foreign language specialists as for people who can use foreign language skills in a limited way in their everyday working situations. The clerk in the department store, the doctor, the bus driver, and the telephone operator could all benefit from a knowledge of a second language.

Accentuate the positive

In the past we were perhaps too exclusive in our demands. We seemed interested only in students who were willing to study a foreign language for a period of at least three years. We made it clear that one or two would not suffice. Teitelbaum (81) urges us to reconsider our insistence on this long-term commitment and to encourage everyone to study a foreign language, even if for only a year or two. To be effective we must convince our prospective clients that all they need to do is try our wares. If our first- and second-year classes are meaningful and appealing, we will not have to worry about the third and fourth years. He especially warns us to forget the negative sales pitch used so frequently in the past: " Don't take Spanish for one year. You don't learn anything. It's not enough" (p. 8). Students *can* learn a great deal in one year. Naturally this would not be enough training if one were planning to teach Spanish, but it might be sufficient to help a student function more effectively in his future career or to make a trip to Mexico more meaningful. People's needs are different. Some need only a reading knowledge, while others want to speak. Sometimes just being able to understand street signs will be enough. There is also the possibility that a student will later decide to continue his foreign language study. Therefore, we must forget our "all or nothing" attitude and encourage as many people as possible to study one or more foreign languages for any period of time.

Not only have we been guilty of limiting our clientele by our snobbish, unreasonable demands for a long-term commitment, we have disillusioned our students by our excessive, extravagant claims about the great vocational rewards of foreign language study. We have given the impression that foreign language training *alone* would lead to an unlimited number of career opportunities. Rivers (61) points out that "what we have not been willing to admit is that ours is, vocationally speaking, an auxiliary study" (p. 134). We have failed to realize that foreign language proficiency alone will not guarantee a job. If a student wants to be a foreign correspondent, he needs to be a journalist first and then a linguist. But how often have we seen French, Spanish, or German majors who, when approaching graduation, almost lament their years of language study? When asked why she majored in French, one young lady replied:

FL in careers

> Utter stupidity, I suppose. I took four years of French in high school and was all hopped up on the language, culture, etc. At this point, close to graduation, I see no point in the language as a major–it will prepare me for absolutely no career, as I've decided I'm entirely too nervous and impatient to teach. After graduation I *will still* have to decide on *some* sort of career and prepare for it.

What students do not seem to understand is that if they choose a major with the "What is the one thing I can do with it?" or the "What is the one thing it will make me?" criterion, there is little they can do with a B.A. degree except teach (if they have the foresight to take courses in education and are able to find a job) or go to graduate school. Of course many educators would rightfully explain that a B.A. degree is not supposed to be a trade-school diploma. Nevertheless, foreign language teachers should point out to their students that for vocational purposes, to speak Russian, Chinese, or French is not enough. As Kirylak (44) explains, "The FL is a supplementary and subordinate qualification. Language is the vehicle to make international communication on a subject matter possible" (p. 44). "What else can you do?" is the key question. In the future our prospective majors must develop other skills in addition to their linguistic talents (Harrison, 34). What they do upon graduation will depend on the *other* skills they have developed. Arnold (6) is convinced that "a marketable skill coupled with reasonable facility in a FL is important in the world of the 1970s" (p. 30). Relatively few people in the United States can speak a foreign language, so if someone does, his application will have the extra sparkle or luster that will make him more valuable to an employer.

Multiple skills needed

We cannot afford to ignore the "career crunch" that currently exists in our society. It behooves us to make our students aware of the vocational opportunities available to them with even limited language training and see to it that their language study will help them in their chosen careers (Karr, 42; 55; Wilkins, 86). In private industry, for example, there is a demand for bilingual secretaries, but Angel (5) points out that they must be able to perform the duties of a secretary:

> The bilingual assistant, like the secretary, interpreter, consular-export documents assistant, is the person with two foreign languages and able to perform the duties of a secretary in both of them. For instance, the French-English secretary is able to take English dictation as if she were an English stenographer and also able to take dictation in French as if she were a French secretary. . . .
>
> Lacking the services of the bilingual personnel, organizations cannot very well carry on without a great deal of cost. That is why the foreign departments or government bureaus who have business dealing with foreign countries wish to employ the bilingual assistant (p. 68).

FL in business or government

Murphy (49) of Techtran Corporation suggests that unemployed scientists try to get jobs as translators. "Scientists whose knowledge of their fields, a foreign language, and English is good are very desirable as translators" (p. 10). Jacolev (39) of Associated Technical Services, Inc. states emphatically that "any scientist with a bilingual capability can find a plethora of translation agencies to whom he can offer his services." Jacolev is careful to point out that the real problem lies not in finding competent scientist-translation opportunities, but in finding competent scientist-translators. He explains that "while many

FL in science

scientists have sufficient language capability to meet their own needs, it is quite something else to produce a competent, technically accurate, idiomatic, and linguistically fluent translation" and that "very few scientists are able to meet the stringent quality requirements of professional translating" (p. 7).

Translators

Opportunities for qualified translators in the sciences are numerous, but not enough translators can be found. In spite of rash statements to the contrary, far from everything is translated into English. One of the leading French scientific journals in Europe, *La Recherche*, is barely four years old (67). In January 1974 its publishers claimed a readership of 40,000 scientists per month, including 10,000 who are not French (68). It would be extremely foolhardy for American scientists not to be acquainted with its contents. To cite another example, *Crustaceana*, the International Journal of Crustacean Research, publishes articles in English, German, and French, and suggests that each author submit a summary of his article, preferably in a language different from his text. Other journals that biologists use frequently include *Zeitschrift fur Pflanzenphyfiologie, Wilhelm Roux Archiv (The Journal of Developmental Biology), Journal de Physiologie* and the *Bulletin de l'Institut Pasteur.* Their articles are in French, German, or English; in some instances there are short summaries in English.

Sonett (74) comments informatively on the proceedings of the Second International Conference on Space Engineering held in Venice:

> Five of the papers are in French, the remainder in English. Of the five, one has both English and French abstracts (both short), one an extended English abstract (of German authorship), and three have only French abstracts. It would seem a minor favor on the part of the editor to have insisted on extended abstracts in English for those functional illiterates among us whose trauma ended with a Ph.D. reading examination many years ago (p. 686).

It is advantageous for anyone engaged in research to be familiar with a second language. Ideally, he should be able to read articles in his field with understanding, but if he has even a passing acquaintance with a foreign language he can identify what he wants translated by experts.

Scientists at the Cell Research Institute at The University of Texas state categorically that a reading knowledge of French and German is essential for their everyday work. One particular scientist had to refer to research performed by a French colleague in order to begin work on her study of the mulifide gland in snails, a gland not described in any English journal. Hunter and Leffingwell (37) of the Institute feel that although more articles are now being written in English, a large number are still written only in French or German. French and German journals do not appear in translation. Some Russian journals are translated, but it is often necessary to consult the original articles. Hunter randomly selected a couple of issues of *The Journal of Cell Biology* and observed that although the articles are written in English, there are bibliographical references to foreign journals. She feels strongly that she would miss something if she did not have a reading knowledge of French and German. Compton (20) of MIT seems to agree: "In the scientific and engineering fields, a knowledge of both French and German is a practical necessity."

Linguistic skills in occupations

In some occupations reading skill is of paramount importance. In other cases different skills are needed. In certain aspects of a profession or business a given linguistic proficiency is basic, as for instance, reading ability for librarians and research workers and speaking ability for radio broadcasters. Most of the large American automobile manufacturers have export divisions and maintain agencies abroad. In a number of instances they have technical and commercial arrangements with foreign companies. Ford, for example, has its own plants in Germany, and produces a special model (Taunus) for that country. Tractors from Detroit are used in Pakistan, Peru, Norway, and Nicaragua. American personnel are needed in the automobile industry abroad. Huebener (36) cites Galer, Sales Manager of Chrysler Corporation's Export Division: "Naturally, in countries where the native language is essential, our sales, service, and parts representatives have a working knowledge of the language. Languages most required are French and Spanish although Portuguese and German is an added asset in some countries" (p. 71).

Conversational skills in business and diplomacy

A crucial need exists for U.S. diplomats who can speak a foreign language. Huberman and Medish (35) point out that in July 1972 only 564 of the 991 "language-essential" State Department staff positions overseas were filled by Americans who knew the appropriate foreign language well enough to perform their required duties. Gould (31) calls attention to our desperate need for foreign correspondents: "The reason there are not more is that the command of a foreign language by American journalists is so woefully lacking. And this is the case when the larger American news organizations would like to double if not triple their foreign news staffs" (p. 34).

Knowledge of foreign cultures

He writes about the difficulty the *Wall Street Journal* has been having in finding staff members who understand Asian cultures well enough to work on an Asian edition of the paper edited, written, and reported in English (p. 35). He indicates that the United States has only one journalist who is completely fluent in Arabic and that only a handful speak Hebrew. This seems ridiculous in light of our dependence on oil from the Middle East. Finally, he tells that when NBC was replacing an aging correspondent in Italy, the only person who could be found from among the ranks was a young newsman who happened to have his copy of an English-Italian, Italian-English dictionary which he had used as a college freshman while taking a first-semester course in Italian.

To overemphasize the role of foreign language study for occupational purposes alone would be just as serious a mistake as to underestimate the value of it as an auxiliary skill.

More complete descriptions of vocations in which some knowledge of a foreign language is either essential or useful are given by Angel (5), Cohn (18), Hardesty (33), Huebener (36), Kettelkamp (43), Kirylak (44), Sherif (70), and Wilkins (86).

It would be highly desirable for departments to have staffs to locate interesting, nonteaching jobs for their students. There are many more positions available than one might realize, but they are not well publicized. Just how many departments have invited personnel directors of large corporations to visit their campuses and chat with faculty and students?

Functions of FL departments

Foreign language departments have a great deal to offer prospective clients. But we must face the fact that except for a small minority of students, foreign language courses will be *service* courses, and we should restructure our departments accordingly. Pincus (56) writes that we must tailor our courses to our students' needs. He suspects that many language departments have not adapted their goals and curricula to the changes that have taken place in the past few years (p. 23). Just how can we foreign language teachers aid our students in their future careers? Lester and Tamarkin (46) feel that "the use of a second language as a practical tool rather than as an end in itself is new in the thinking of many foreign language educators" (p. 173). They compare foreign language proficiency with competency in typing: "Just as the typing skill offers personal rewards and serves as an employment tool, competency in a foreign language can also fulfill these dual objectives" (p. 173).

Specialized courses

Progressive foreign language departments are already applying these ideas. At Cuyahoga Community College special classes in Spanish are taught to law enforcement students, and those specializing in hospitality management studies have specially designed French courses (Buford, 16). Ferrari (26) writes about an intensive course in German for architecture students at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. There is no reason why sections of commercial Spanish and French and medical Spanish could not be offered. We must work together with other departments to adapt our courses to the needs of the contemporary student (Anderson, 4; Rivers, 60). If not, our prospective clients will go elsewhere.

Role of private language school

We must not be fooled into thinking that because foreign language enrollments have been declining in high schools and universities there is a small market for language study. Marottoli (47) calls attention to the sizeable increase in enrollments in the private language schools all over the nation and suggests that because of our inadequacies and shortcomings, our clientele has been going elsewhere. We no longer have captive audiences. Uppermost in our minds should be the question, "How can we serve our students most effectively?" And above all, we must not forget that a student's reason for studying French, Spanish, or German will generally be different from his teacher's perception of how it will benefit him.

Conclusion

The words that should best describe a successful foreign language department of the future are service and diversity. We must be willing to serve our clients at all levels, whether they be third graders, high school students, sophomores in college, or members of the community who, as nondegree candidates, return to the campus for a course or two. We must show genuine concern for *all* students and not just for those who are as committed to foreign language study as we are. We must inject diversity into our programs. Our courses must be continually evaluated for effectiveness and relevance. Do they achieve what they claim? Do we offer courses to suit the needs of our clients of today? Finally, are our course offerings in harmony with the values we ascribe to foreign language learning?

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Public awareness: How can associations and institutions use public relations skills?

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Poor PR image

Translate them into any language you choose (and it is not always easy), the words *public relations* tend to sound a little sordid, particularly to those in the academic community who, for the most part, can remain aloof and "uncontaminated." As William Toran of Ohio State University's journalism faculty suggests, the public relations profession has come to be associated with "show biz flacks, sports promotion types, land development salesmen, lobbyists, . . . receptionists, call girls," rather than with those who work in the public interest (Hattal, 3).

Because public relations practitioners are easily as tough as teachers, the sometimes shabby image of PR is not liable to topple the best of them (and will certainly not even so much as touch the worst). Its ironically unfortunate effect, rather, lies in the skepticism with which PR is viewed by many of those sorely in need of its ministrations—with or without professional practitioners to lend them a hand.

That the field of foreign language study needs to sell itself is beyond argument in these days of plummeting enrollments and guillotined budgets. We may deplore, loudly and even multilingually, the disappearance of many college level language requirements, the curtailment of funds for elementary school programs, and the general lack of incentive to study foreign languages; but unless we take some action soon, our shrinking

Action now

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–and increasingly English speaking–planet is going to find itself more and more heavily populated with former foreign language teachers.

Other terminology may make the job seem more palatable, but what we are talking about is the application of proven public-relations techniques to the goal of attracting more students to foreign language study.

Identifying the target

Like teaching, public relations is largely a matter of communicating. Unlike most formal teaching, public relations must pursue its audience. The teacher faces a roomful of more or less receptive students who are there more or less voluntarily; the PR message must capture the attention of its intended target before genuine communication can even begin. Thus, it is essential at the outset of any PR effort to pinpoint the "publics" one is seeking to reach. The message can be tailored to appeal to the special interests of specific groups and individuals, and the risk of dissipating the effectiveness of communication efforts through a random mass-audience approach can be avoided.

Identifying the "publics"

For those with the financial means to use it, the computer serves as an exceptionally efficient method for providing breakdowns and profiles of different publics. While by no means as widely used by PR practitioners as by the advertising industry (especially in media selection), electronic data processing is proving itself increasingly valuable in all areas of communication–except, of course, in devising the message itself, for that is still the business of a purely human agency.

Even without electronic assistance, however, identifying target publics is not too difficult. Once identification has been made, gaining insight into the ways in which they may best be reached is no extraordinary feat. Let us briefly consider some of the publics relevant to a foreign language education public relations campaign.

The first group to come to mind is the hard core of those vigorously opposed to the teaching and learning of foreign languages. They may appear to pose a formidable, and even stimulating, challenge. In fact, however, they represent not challenge but futility.

The unreachable opposition

Writing in *PR Reporter* about police department public relations, practitioner Budd Arthur (1) cautions: "The first fact to face . . . is that there is one entire segment of the population which will remain unreachable. It is turned off or permanently tuned out, and nothing will alter its attitude."

This, regrettably, is true in almost every PR endeavor. To expend energies and resources in an attempt to reach those who adamantly refuse to listen is inexcusably wasteful. Simply, write them off.

The reachables—and using them to reach others

Students as ambassadors

Fortunately for teachers, there are many publics who do listen to them, because they must or because they think they should or even because they are genuinely interested. These are the fruitful targets, and first among them is the captive audience of the classroom. One's students can be splendid ambassadors for one's subject matter. Simply by teaching, the teacher can generate enthusiasm that will be transmitted automatically to other students and to parents. An academic subject can be "sold" most effectively by a skilled teacher.

Corporate reinforcement

Yet the influence of the individual teacher, powerful as it can be, may be reinforced by well-planned corporate efforts. Thus a local, regional, or state association of foreign language teachers may develop a public-relations program designed to reach present and prospective students and their parents. Ideally, such a program would convey information complementary to that emanating directly from the classroom.

Support from colleagues

Clearly, for a group to lay meaningful plans for any kind of communication program, its own members must first be reached to encourage their participation. This is called internal public relations, an essential step in enlisting full organizational support. Helpful, too, is gaining the support of colleagues, even those whose academic disciplines may not relate directly to foreign languages. With their cooperation and understanding, interesting interdisciplinary ventures become possible—with the bonus of potential "selling" opportunities for the colleagues' fields of study as well.

The business community

In the community outside the school or campus, several fairly well-defined and readily identifiable groups are worth considering as potentially valuable target publics. One of the strongest is the business and industrial community. While its

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leaders may, generally speaking, be people largely unsympathetic to the cause of foreign language study, they can be appealed to on a number of pragmatic levels. Many business and industry leaders are keenly aware of the public relations benefits they themselves can reap through support of cultural programs in the community. Approach them with a solid idea, well presented; ask them for specific help (monetary, if that is what is needed); and a favorable response is well within the realm of probability.

Government officials

Government officials, too, appreciate the concrete, businesslike approach, especially when a request for action is involved —whether it be a request for a mayoral proclamation of French Day or alerting a state legislator to the organization's viewpoint on pending legislation concerning curriculum revision. Maintaining a steady flow of information to influential people in government can pay large dividends. Such communication can range from regularly published formal newsletters to intermittent memos, clippings, and other less formal reminders of issues at stake.

The educational hierarchy

Elected and appointed education officials are, of course, considered to be already in the teachers' own backyard. That they are familiar with problems or programs is often taken for granted, when in fact this is not the case. To pass them by as a communications target is to throw away priceless opportunities.

In many communities the term *community leaders* also includes other influential citizens such as professional people, those most visibly active in charitable and civic organizations, and those outstanding on the cultural scene. The composition of such groups varies from community to community, and judgments about their significance can usually be most wisely made at the local level by those familiar with the community's workings.

Involving others

One of the strongest moves that can be made in winning people to a cause is to ask them to participate, to become actively involved. The language teachers group might astutely propose formation of an advocacy group among community leaders—"Friends of Languages," for example—to lend authoritative endorsement to its PR campaign and to lend powerful reinforcement on the education-officialdom front as well.

Having first secured the support—or at the very least the understanding—of the community's "influentials," it is now possible to go to the community at large with the message. While one can hardly hope to zero in on special interests when dealing with this broad base, there are effective ways to reach many people without seeming totally impersonal–through the intercession of community leaders, through community organizations (service clubs, women's groups, churches, and others), and through the careful use of communications media.

The media

The media themselves, of course, constitute a key "public." They have been left deliberately for the end of this list, however, because of the too frequent tendency to think first of media and never progress beyond this point. While the media, both print and broadcast, are unquestionably essential to the success of almost any PR campaign, they must be used with great care and only as part of a well-planned overall effort.

Some problems that must be faced

As we eliminated "the unreachables" as a viable public at the outset, let us look at a few other discouraging factors before plunging into some "how-tos." What follow are real problems for which there are no easy answers. The important thing is to recognize their existence and to go on in spite of them.

American mistrust of "advertising"

A Louis Harris survey in December, 1972, showed that only 11 percent of the American public agreed with the statement, "Most advertising claims are generally accurate" (7). While strictly speaking, the subject at hand is not advertising, the distinction is a fine one, easily lost when, for example, a television viewer sees a spot announcement promoting the study of foreign languages. That, to him, is "advertising," and while its credibility may be higher than that of a commercial for dog food or deodorant, he may have his doubts.

Add to this observation another gloomy Harris finding: "Over the past six years, the faith of the American people in the teaching profession has dropped by about 50 percent" (Hooper, 4). (Small comfort to know that the government, the military, scientists, and business have shared the same fate.) Some of the "going" is obviously destined to be uphill.

National Xenophobia

A further problem lies in the insularity that has all but turned us into a nation of Xenophobes. Even dramatic upswings in travel abroad–to say nothing of our awesome domestic difficulties–have not materially affected our national smugness, particularly where language is concerned. We Americans can sensitively and sympathetically study, for example, the geographic dialects in the auditory system of the cricket frog (Capranica et al., 2), but we recoil at the idea of exposing ourselves to new linguistic experiences at the human level.

Resistance to change

At a national conference for university professors of advertising held in 1973 at Arizona State University, Jacob Hornik (5) of the University of Illinois, discussing resistance to television advertising, pointed out:

> The concept of resistance is integral to the concepts of information, influence, persuasion, and change. Advertising messages intend to change, evaluate, and refine behavior; therefore, they encounter unfavorable predispositions in the receiver. Consequently, change must take place in an inherently resistant atmosphere. Consumers must be stimulated to convert some of this resistance to change" (p. 119).

Our national resistance to change certainly creates a major stumbling block to selling the concept of learning a foreign language. In an ambience where most people are never required to employ a language other than their own, where ethnic ghettoes abound, or where many are determined to "live down" the foreign origins of parents or grandparents, stimulating conversion from at least some of this resistance to change is clearly a monumental challenge. We cannot, however ambitious, hope to bring about social miracles.

Reviving rusty skills

Even those who have had some language study can understandably lose their enthusiasm as their hard-won skill atrophies for want of an occasion to exercise it. There are probably many unsuspected potential foreign language partisans who would—whether they now know it or not—welcome the opportunity to put their rusty Spanish or French to use. As unlikely a prospect as Mae West once wistfully remarked that the only time she ever had a chance to use her high school French was when she sang a French song in one of her films (8).

Perhaps hardest hit by public indifference are the classical languages, which are shrugged off with a "Who needs them?" even by people who might find them useful. It will take a mighty glut of Roman banquets and Greek plays to whet the public appetite for classical language study. The hopeful sign on the horizon is the gradual return to traditional classicism in some of our universities; what is less hopeful is the fact that it is gradual indeed—so much so that we may lose an entire generation of classical language students (and, by implication, teachers) and have to build from scratch again.

Making do—creatively—with shortages

In addition to these difficulties confronting the field of foreign language study are the further problems facing any organization when it seeks to make use of public communications media. For example, a paper shortage, to some degree, for another five years or so must simply be accepted. This affects all printed materials, of course, and it particularly affects newspapers. With newsprint in short supply, newspaper space is at a real premium. This means that even space paid for by advertisers is being severely curtailed; for those seeking "free" space in the news columns, the challenges are strenuous indeed. There is no longer room for "nonnews" or for feature material of less than general interest. The publicist must be more alert than ever.

No paper, no space

A further ramification of the newsprint deficit may be a seasonal tightening of newspaper pages. At the Christmas buying season, for example, it was customary for most newspapers to expand the number of pages to accommodate additional advertising. This may no longer prove possible. Therefore editorial space may be scant—and at a time of year when there is the highest demand for it to announce a variety of community events. The implications of this must be considered in any public-relations planning. To obtain better exposure it may be wise, for example, to hold an event at some other time of year; yet such an adjustment in an established schedule can be upsetting, and its public relations value must be carefully weighed and explained to all concerned.

The unexpandable broadcast day

What holds true currently for newspapers is true at all times of the broadcast media. Since there is no way to stretch 24 hours into 25 or more, competition is especially heavy for both news and public service time, and the material of greatest general interest usually wins. Radio and television stations do have a commitment to devote a certain amount of time to "the public interest" and generally welcome community involvement in worthwhile projects; but competition is keen, and during the

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pre-Christmas selling season and other heavy commercial periods, there is often simply no time for airing public service messages. If broadcast, they cannot be aired very frequently.

Local radio stations are exceptionally effective vehicles for promoting community ventures of all kinds and for reaching a surprisingly wide audience; but many of them are "daytime" stations, licensed to broadcast only from sunrise to sunset. During the winter months, the time of greatest school-connected activity, they are operating on an extremely curtailed schedule.

The creative public relations practitioner takes these obstacles into account and works at developing projects that can take advantage of the media's slack times. PR professionals who have established good working relationships with the media have had the happy experience of learning from a women's page editor or talk show host about a need for feature stories or interesting guests. If they are competent in their work, they are able to leap in to fill the void with material that will enhance the medium and advance the cause of the organization they represent. The PR volunteer must try to be equally well prepared for such opportunities.

***PR practitioners:* semper parat**

For the volunteer, of course, the PR assignment is exceedingly demanding. It requires constant monitoring of the organization to keep abreast of developments, and it requires a surprising amount of routine drudgery to accomplish the organization's public relations goals. Unless there is complete cooperation from all of the members, it is unrealistic and unjust to expect one of them to shoulder this responsibility single-handedly.

The ideal arrangement, as attested by thousands of nonprofit organizations across the country, is to have a strong volunteer public relations committee that meets regularly, keeps a firm hand on policy and direction, and acts as the "boss" to a paid executive who may work full- or part-time. This arrangement assures continuity and builds in the certainty that the legwork, clerical chores, and other essential duties will be performed by someone who is paid to perform them, without having to depend on a committee member's ability to snatch a few inadequate moments from an already overloaded schedule.

Ideal: a paid executive

All too often, however, the ideal remains beyond our grasp and we must settle for next best. Certainly for a group of language teachers seeking public recognition and understanding in a relatively small community, the paid professional staff member is out of the question. Can such a group launch and maintain an effective PR program?

The answer, of course, is yes—provided members are willing to give it the considerable time and effort needed. This may entail some sacrifice, and volunteers have to be strongly motivated. The straightforward issue of job security acts as motivation enough for many persons these days, and it would be hard to think of a motivation more powerful.

PR for job

The transformation: Teacher into PR practitioner

How, then, does one transform a teacher into a public relations practitioner? The job is, in a sense, more than half done to begin with: The good teacher is already an effective communicator. There remains only a rechanneling of this skill in ways that will make it a mass communications tool rather than only a teaching tool.

Training for PR work

A state or regional association can be of immeasurable help here, by providing workshops, materials, and continuing resources on which local groups may call. The larger association, moreover, bears the responsibility for helping to set direction and furnish guidance for localized efforts.

Thus, major projects, such as the production of TV spot announcements, establishment of formats for various community-based programs, or preparation of basic speeches or audiovisual presentations, belong appropriately to the parent organization, which presumably has—or can find—funds to cover these activities. This state or regional organization also owes its members a vehicle for the constant exchange of ideas. What has been accomplished in one community can be adapted for another, and the steady flow of this type of "success-story" information is crucial to keeping volunteer enthusiasm high.

Reinforcement

Even when a salary check offers a formalized recognition of our achievements, most of us need a steady diet of prods and reminders to keep us on target. How much more strongly this applies to the volunteer worker, who is justifiably tempted to set aside volunteer assignments, especially when no one else seems to be taking notice or when new ideas are coming hard!

What does not make the volunteer's job any easier is the fact that one is measured in the public eye side by side with his/her professional counterparts. Within limits, therefore, a certain degree of professionalism must be expected even of the volunteer; the more, the better.

Media help

Fortunately, however—and especially in smaller communities—there is a general willingness on the part of media people to be helpful. They must consider their own public relations. In addition, they dare not pass up an opportunity for a good news story, and they benefit from cultivating good news sources. Broadcast media must devote at least some of their time to community service; the renewal of their licenses by the FCC to a great extent depends on this.

In spite of the reasonable amount of help that can be expected, however, every communicator must know some of the basic ways to communicate to the key publics. Each foreign language teacher should acquire some of this know-how; each should act as a spokesman for the cause.

The basic news story

The basic of basics is "hard" news. This means the "who, what, when, where" news story, in which all of these facts are contained in the first paragraph. For foreign language teacher groups, such news releases are likely to deal with forthcoming events such as language fairs, the announcement of awards or prizes, or association business such as the election of officers. News style is not hard to master; a study of similar stories in the newspaper can be helpful. Conciseness is essential. Releases should be typed double-spaced and kept to a single page if possible, with the most important information at the beginning since editors automatically cut upward from the end.

When to release news

In most communities the daily newspaper's deadline usually determines the release date and time of a news story. In many rural communities, however, the publicist may want the story to appear first in a widely read weekly newspaper. While it is not customary to release hard news to any one medium on an exclusive basis, letting a specific medium know that it will have the opportunity to break the story first may be helpful sometimes.

The same version of the story can go to all media, unless the publicist, bursting with ambition, wants to rewrite it for each. It will usually undergo some rewriting, anyway, especially for the broadcast media.

Pictures versus words

The old saw about the comparative worth of pictures and words does contain more than a germ of truth. If a photograph can accompany a news release, so much the better. It must be of good–that is, professional–quality to reproduce well on newsprint. Do not send identical photos to different print media; if only one photo is available, place it where it is likely to do the most good–that is, reach the most people in the target public.

Television, of course, is a pictorial medium. There is no point in sending a news story to a TV news department unaccompanied by a visual. Nowadays, with a very few exceptions, that visual must be in the form of a color slide. One way many groups handle this is to have several relevant slides made up (the organizational symbol on one, for example, the group's president on another, a typical organization-sponsored event on a third), which are then distributed to local TV stations with the request that they be placed in the news file. Then, when news of the organization breaks–assuming that the editor considers it worthy of TV newstime–visuals are on hand.

Inviting media

If the news release deals with a forthcoming event of sufficient public interest, the news media should be invited to attend. Careful thought must be given to what photographs might be posed for newspaper photographers and what aspects of the event would be of most interest to TV news cameramen. News media are notoriously understaffed and overworked; the coverage simply may not be possible; but editors are glad to be alerted about such occasions, and they will generally try to have someone there.

Editors also welcome inquiries about possible feature material. Unlike hard news, features are almost always offered on an exclusive basis, and often an editor or reporter will work with the association spokesman in developing the story. An example of a newspaper feature might be an interview with the members of a German class who have just returned from a trip to Germany or a story about a class in Italian cookery that is conducted in Italian. Anything that falls in the "human interest" category is fair game.

Employe publications

In concentrating on newspapers, both daily and weekly, there is a tendency to forget other, often valuable, print media. Among these are employe publications, especially those of major industries. Their editors are frequently hungry for new kinds of feature material; and if, for example, the son or daughter of one of the local industry's employes was one of the German travelers, the story would be welcomed and would, moreover, reach—in a relatively receptive mood—an audience not always open to the idea of foreign language study. When Deaconess Hospital in Milwaukee sought community support for its new Sickle Cell Center, it turned to industry as one of its target publics—but "not for dollars or time—just some space in your company's employee publication" (6).

There may be other business and institutional publications in the community as well. Their influence must not be underestimated.

Broadcasting: Attractions and pitfalls

TV: the Big One

For most people nowadays, of course, *media* is all but synonymous with television—good reason to give TV serious consideration in any public-relations program, apart from the news programs.

A large share of the public service time to which television and radio are committed takes the form of spot announcements. These are called PSAs (Public Service Announcements). Most are 30 seconds in length, and many are produced at very high cost by professional TV production houses. The competition for the viewer's attention is fierce, and since he is unable to distinguish points of origin, he will judge identically the spot given a lavish production in Hollywood and the one put together by an impoverished local organization. This puts the local organization on its creative mettle.

Distill the message

Fortunately, most TV stations are eager to give community affairs a boost and will give invaluable help with production. The more ingenuity the organization can bring with it, however, the higher the quality of the finished product is likely to be. Before approaching a TV station for this kind of help, however, the PR person must know exactly what the message is to be and, preferably, have it clearly written down on paper, succinctly enough to meet the time requirements. "Studying foreign languages enriches your life" is not sufficient; the message must be specific, for example, "Knowing a foreign language can make travel more fun."

Anyone asking for public service time must be cognizant of financial as well as technical limitations to what can be done on a typical nonbudget and must therefore come prepared to learn, adapt, adjust, and work with the station professionals patiently and understandingly to extract much from little.

To a far lesser degree similar problems exist in radio; but since sound is the only element, the entire operation is a great deal simpler than that of television. In many cases radio stations (if they have adequate staff) assist in the production of PSAs for community organizations. More often, however, they are interested in "live" copy which their own staff announcers can read. While many radio stations willingly help to create the copy for such announcements, it is safe to say that all prefer to receive copy in finished form. Writing a 30-second spot (about 75 words) that says all you want it to say is far from easy, but it is a valuable skill that can be learned.

Write for radio

Public Broadcasting should not be ignored, either. In communities where a PBS radio or TV station operates, a foreign language teachers group will find a warm welcome and can often work out some stimulating ideas for programs: interviews, panel discussions, classroom demonstrations, foreign language plays performed by students, and many more. These programs are entirely separate from the time the station may allot to formal educational programming and must be geared to a general audience, with some entertainment or adult-level informational value. Such opportunities will increase as more and more communities install cable TV systems.

Going straight to the fellow down the street

Powerful though the broadcast and print media are in conveying a message, face-to-face communication is better. One of the most forceful ways to tell the language-study story to a community is through presentations to community groups. Let others make stand-up speeches to these groups; foreign language teachers have more to offer. Indeed, the teachers' representative need not be a particularly gifted speaker at all, and all association members may carry their share of the burden of meeting public engagements.

Face-to-face communication

An extremely effective tool for such occasions is an audiovisual presentation or a simple slide presentation with commentary by the speaker, which can be optional in a flexibly designed presentation. Preparing the presentation may be expensive initially unless school facilities can be called upon for art

AV: a flexible tool

and photography work and slide duplication. However, individual slides can be changed and updated frequently, and it can be used over a broad geographic area simply by dropping in slides of local significance as required. Such versatility means economy.

Some foreign language departments have films that dramatize their classroom work. These should be evaluated very carefully with general audiences in mind and perhaps edited accordingly, but they offer another possible source of presentation material. They may also be useful for television.

Student demonstrations

By far the most valuable source lies in the students themselves. They can stage an active demonstration—from a simultaneous translation or a scene from a Racine drama.

Any presentation should include an opportunity for the audience to "learn." We can promote the learning of languages by teaching a phrase or two. Most people will enjoy it, even though they may feel self-conscious; to some the experience will help them recall that faraway forgotten brush with language learning which tends, at least in retrospect, to take on pleasurably nostalgic overtones.

Organizing a speakers bureau

In recruiting and training members for a speakers bureau, remember that all who go out to make presentations must understand clearly what the goals of the public relations campaign are and precisely what their role is to be. One- or two-day workshops for prospective speakers bureau members have been found to be effective. Remote from telephones and other distractions and following a thorough briefing, they can develop their own presentations, make them before the group, and discuss them. Together they hammer out a basic presentation that all participants can use effectively; by the end of the session all-around understanding of the project has been achieved.

News value

Every speaking engagement is an opportunity for a news announcement and even, in some cases, for media coverage. One of the cardinal rules of effective public relations is to keep in mind the extended news value of any project. If, for example, a decision is made to hold a poster contest on the language-study theme, far more than a simple contest is involved. The immediate target, of course, is the school children who will participate. Their parents constitute a secondary, highly important, target—in one sense the true primary target. With the help of the news media giving coverage to deadline dates and contest rules and follow-up coverage to awards ceremonies and poster exhibitions, the event can have considerable public impact.

The field of language study lends itself superbly to many different kinds of interesting and newsworthy promotions. Sophisticated language fairs are already being held regularly in many schools. In general they need to be better publicized in the community, which is often a matter of making sure the media know about them and inviting coverage. Career clinics for young people may feature people who hold jobs in which multilingual ability is necessary; such programs may be underwritten by local business or industry. If, in connection with a language fair or other special occasion, the mayor agrees to proclaim "French Day," perhaps he will be willing to go a step further and designate Main Street as *Rue Principale* for a day and fly the *Tricolore* along with Old Glory atop City Hall. In a community with sizable ethnic groups, a student weekend live-in exchange program might be implemented, a source of endless news value as well as a rewarding experience for participants. Banks, stores, and other establishments are usually happy to make window space available for appropriate displays when the occasion warrants and when the displays are scheduled far enough in advance. Some local projects are inventive and unusual enough to merit attention in the national press—perhaps through one of the wire services—or to merit a query to the editor of a national magazine. It may not be unrealistic to hope for a "celebrity spokesman" for a language-study public relations program. A series of French-language radio spots, sponsored by the Quebec office of the Roman Catholic Church's Propagation of the Faith, feature no less a celebrity than the Pope himself, and if that can happen, almost anything can.

Another public relations technique that can have highly useful spinoff, widely employed by professionals in the field, is too frequently underrated or misunderstood on the volunteer level. This is the survey technique, used both for gathering information and for creating awareness—with the added bonus of almost certain news value.

Using surveys creatively

A simple questionnaire might be distributed to parents through their children, soliciting information about their own language studies: whether they speak a second language, whether they have traveled outside the United States, what language they would like to speak if they could now study, and other similar, nonthreatening questions. The responses, tabulated and evaluated, make an interesting news story and may have subtly planted an awareness of the utility of language study in the minds of the respondents. Depending upon how skillfully it is used, the survey technique can, in its indirect way, actually serve as a more powerful selling tool than a direct "hard sell."

The nasty necessities: Detail work and spending money

Getting out a survey or even typing up a news release or canvassing local organizations to offer a presentation is time-consuming clerical work. And it is only part of the absolutely essential clerical work that must be carried on if a public relations effort is to succeed. Without the necessary lists, which must be brought up to date regularly, not even the first rudimentary moves can be made.

Media list

First among these is a media list. This is probably the very first job the public relations chairman will tackle. By far the simplest way to tackle it is to sit down with telephone and directory and call each newspaper or other publication and each broadcasting station, confirming its address and asking for the names and titles of the people to whom news should be sent and who should be consulted on feature or public service materials.

List of organizations

List of community leaders

An up-to-date list of community organizations is another essential. Chambers of commerce or local volunteer centers can sometimes be helpful here. Keeping a current list of the officers is difficult and requires constant vigilance in scanning local news pages where elections and installations are likely to be announced. Lists of community leaders should also be maintained. These lists will probably be built gradually, with names being constantly added. Good public relations dictates that the publicist check with each person's secretary to make sure the name is spelled correctly and the proper title given.

What money can buy

The less money spent, the harder the volunteers will have to work and the more skillful they will have to be at eliciting the cooperation of media and others in the community. Generally speaking, however, with the investment of a great deal of time and energy, much can be accomplished with little or no financial outlay. But there are some areas where a dollar investment can pay off handsomely. Among these is broadcast production. Where the locally produced spot announcement runs back-to-back with the slick professional product, there may be some real question whether the local effort was worth it.

Last year the Modern Language Association made application to the National Endowment for the Humanities, seeking a grant to fund a two-state pilot program for public awareness of foreign languages. The bulk of the funding was to go toward the production and airing of TV spot announcements. Although the grant has not been made, the MLA's action in seeking it underscores the fact, however regrettable, that one can exercise far more control over what one pays for than over what comes as a gift. Paying for production assures a certain standard of quality that can compete successfully with other material on the air. Paying for the air time also assures control over when the spots will be broadcast–in prime time, for example, or at least in heavy family viewing time rather than somewhere between the late monster movie and the nightly inspirational message.

TV: paying for quality

Hard economic facts must be brought to bear on another area as well: photography. It is difficult for the average automatic-camera owner to understand why his perfectly clear snapshot of the school's Greek play will not reproduce well in the newspaper and therefore will be rejected. However difficult comprehension may be, a cruel truth is that only the professional photographer is equipped to turn out photographs suitable for print reproduction. If the occasion is visually interesting, the services of a good photographer usually turn out to be a worthwhile investment.

Professional photos

Print materials such as brochures and pamphlets involve a very considerable cost for production, and since they are most often used as mailing pieces (which is one of the ways those lists come in handy), skyrocketing postage costs must also be considered. Developing printed materials is always a good idea; every organization with a message deserves to have at least one well-designed pamphlet setting forth that message. In addition, special occasions and events may warrant the development of special print matter.

Print materials

What to do until the money comes

What does one do if there just is no money? The only re-

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sponse to that is that there *is* money (or its equivalent) to be had. It sometimes has to be sought out, and sometimes the seeking has to be fairly creative. Consider some of these potential sources.

Bicentennial opportunities

Many multilingual opportunities will coincide with the nation's bicentennial, especially as foreign visitors come here in growing numbers. Bicentennial-connected grants are available for suitable projects. If the language teachers cannot come up with a grant-worthy project of their own, perhaps there is a bicentennial project being planned in the community, of which they can become an integral part.

Airlines are currently using their advertising to woo foreign visitors to our shores. They might welcome the opportunity to expand their own public relations programs to include the funding of projects connected with language teaching.

Business is becoming increasingly international. American businessmen are traveling abroad in record numbers, a trend likely to continue. Even though the multinational corporations tend to employ nationals in each of their installations, many of these giant companies do have a vital interest in communication through better international understanding. Many of them also have substantial corporate budgets set aside for the funding of worthy causes. *Fortune* has been noting new kinds of international alliances, including a variety of reciprocal trade agreements.

Corporate largesse

Community resources

Even if the dollars themselves should prove elusive, it is fair to ask for help in kind. There are probably public relations professionals in the community who would like to help, especially if their children happen to be studying languages. The same may be true of designers and printers and, in larger cities, photographers, filmmakers, and even TV production houses. School public-relations staffs, too, are often more willing than teachers assume; if they cannot do the actual work themselves, they can provide valuable counsel and contacts. If writing proposals in search of funds is the big stumbling block, it is useful to remember that many academicians are masters of that art and might be persuaded to lend their expertise to the cause.

Conclusion

Ingenuity and persistence can accomplish endless rewards.

The success of a public relations program on behalf of foreign language study depends upon the individuals involved and their willingness to work at it. There is, alas, no guarantee that even the most assiduous efforts can produce dramatic results; but even if a public relations program does no more than simply reflect a vital and stimulating teaching program already in existence, it will have gone a long way toward making new friends for foreign language study.

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Public awareness: What can the individual teacher do?

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A recent prime time program of a popular television family series ("Apple's Way," March 3, 1974) depicted the plight of a foreign language teacher; in this instance a fragile, aging, spinster French teacher was forced into moonlighting to finance a trip to France—her first since the end of World War I—where she hoped to be reunited with her lost but ailing French fiancé. The head of the household, recognizing the cleft between the teacher's training and her search for employment as a domestic, magnanimously engaged her to teach French to the family. Delightedly, she set about her task—"un, deux, trois. . . ." A few seconds later, after a blend with music, we see the youngest of the family conversing fluently in his newly acquired language to the delight of his eavesdropping parents who bemusedly conclude that their youngest is now "bilingual."

Popular image

Those of us who have ever tried to acquire local coverage for a language event can relish the impact that major network television coverage might have on our public. This particular program, however, presented an antiquated, unreal, and uneducated image of our discipline. Anyone studying a language within the past five or 10 years knows that the language teacher is no longer fragile, having been buffeted by the currents of enrollment trends and accompanying pains of program amputa-

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tion; the teacher is not necessarily a woman; achievement of fluency in a second language, even for the very young or the very talented, is not in any sense instantaneous. Yet, because of the popularity of the series, more attention was focused on French during this hour-long program than could be achieved by volumes in a foreign language journal.

"Public Relations" is defined as "work with the public, striving for the trust of the public." Only recently has the language teaching profession caught the spirit of open manipulation of public opinion. Some of the challenges, efforts, and successes of language teachers in this unfamiliar, and in many ways alien, area are reported in this chapter.

Measuring public opinion

A word of caution: At the present time no substantial measurement of success or failure seems to exist. Student enrollment prevails as a gauge, but enrollment figures are often not tabulated, not tabulated promptly, or simply are not significant. Public relations projects may not affect our enrollment statistics until the next decade, much in the same way that today's "Sesame Street" program will probably not influence our high school graduates until the year 1991. This survey is not meant to be exhaustive, nor has it been derived from the customary documented sources. It was gleaned from conversation, newsletters, bulletins, collective instinct, and survival strategy that remains largely unrecorded.

The challenge and the charge

MLA Outline for Action

In 1972 the Modern Language Association of America predicted the need for a statement of action for the role and scope of languages in the 1970s. A steering committee was appointed and late in 1973 the result of its findings was made public (56). First on the list of "An Outline for Action" stands the basic premise, "the American public must be more fully informed of the value and importance of language study, and every effort must be made to encourage adults and children alike to attain proficiency in at least one 'second' language" (p. 8). After ascertaining that language teachers are characterized by their communicative disability in presenting a positive image of language study, simultaneously attractive and sensitive to public needs, the statement charges members of the discipline to initiate an "imaginative and far-reaching information campaign," employing all practicable media. Urging the participant to continue whatever grass-roots measures have been initiated locally, the statement advocates the establishment of a national campaign through the abilities and means of a national organization with publicity as its *raison d'être*. It also suggests solicitation of assistance from those agencies with vested interests in foreign language and culture: the international airlines, hotel chains, foreign manufacturers, tourist bureaus, foreign embassies, and importers.

Publicizing our failures

Until now much of our publicity has centered on our own failures. Mack (45), Ryder (72), Sheppard (79), and Wingard (82) regret the "apocalyptic" overtones of declining enrollment in languages and our inability to meet changing values and interests of our students. Wingard laments the fact that "as a profession, we tend to tell each other our problems and to bemoan our situation, but we do little to improve that situation or improve our image externally" (82, p. 5). Sheppard finds that language teachers are "very articulate, very convincing, *entre nous*," but inept at professional organization and public relations. Ryder (72) suggests we become more active in recording our successes.

As early as 1969 Paquette (63) suggested that we must analyze our public image; assess our financial, publishing, and manpower resources at all levels; and give our forces a new, vital, and vibrant direction. However, we must first identify who speaks to the public for our profession. The most important message to convey to the public in 1974 is simply that foreign language study *has* changed and we *have* extended our boundaries, not only in the sense of *whom* we teach, but in *what* we teach, and certainly in the *way* that we teach. But, as Edgerton (17) states, we often tend to sit back offended, hurt, and misunderstood. "We must achieve a broader, more responsible understanding of our role, and we must communicate that understanding convincingly to our fellow countrymen" (p 11).

"Proselytize or perish"

Who is the public?

Part of our problem derives from identification of our public. Often we are content to label the public "they," when in a broader respect "we" are included. In the definition of *image*—"the representation of a personality in public"—the terms *public* and *personality* must be clearly understood. Let us assume *personality* to be the language teacher and his reflection of the validity of his discipline and *public* all those who influence his environment, who make decisions that affect him—the totality of *interested* parties. The public, which includes the teacher's colleagues, his students, the student's family and friends, the teacher's administrators, counselors, and the professional organizations, is the *intramural* group, lateral in arrangement. The community, public officials, governmental and private agencies, publicity media, and perhaps an even wider circumference than all of these is the *extramural* group, vertical in arrangement.

The intramural image

One must recognize that the greatest single opportunity for influence on public opinion is given every day as the teacher and student encounter one another. Within a five-year period, a college teacher may count 1,250 students who have been under his direct influence. How can we help these students achieve a positive attitude toward language study? Morrow (53) has constructed a simple but personally rewarding introduction to language, requiring no grades, little written work and little grammar. Strange (84) experimented with the nature of language by requiring the students and the teacher of a beginning German class to create a new language. Such activities allow the student to understand the learning process more readily. If each one of these students can *explain* what the study of a foreign language means to him and how it has changed his life, he will likely find someone to whom he can tell it.

Introduction to language

Hanzeli and Love (29) suggest that language teachers focus on those aspects of education that bring their students to different modes of thinking and communication and different cultural solutions to universal human problems. They find that such attitudinal refinement exceeds the usual scope of a highly structured or programmed curriculum. Grittner (27) sees the role of the teacher as a provider of less structure and more student involvement in expressing his own perception of reality. So pervasive is this idea that the 1974 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages chose as its theme "Toward Student-Centered Foreign Language Programs." Mullen (54) summarizes the diversification of goals and curricula and predicts a greater autonomy for the learner and new expectations for the teacher.

Student involvement

The encounter of teacher and student produces a permanent and irrevocable impression upon the student. We know this from the scores of our colleagues from other departments who share with us memories of their "fragile French teacher" or their venture into the marketplaces of Europe equipped with two years of conjugations. Sometimes a disastrous language experience was salvaged by the sweet memory of a teacher who seemed to care when a student found language study difficult. Yet, rotely learned paradigms quickly faded from memory, but not the tyrant who filled our hearts with fear. In short, we never forget the good teachers, and we never forget the bad teachers, but often we do forget what both taught us. We recall some of the activities and most of the personal triumphs.

After the skills disappear

How does attitude about language affect a student's learning or decision to continue language study? Several studies have addressed this problem. Aronson (2) has posited that self-consciousness is a powerful inhibiting factor and that beginning students of a language often speak the language with greater facility than some fourth-year students simply because the fourth-year student expects a greater performance from the time and energy he has invested. Such self-consciousness can be particularly damaging in upper-level undergraduate courses, where a student's burden is often too great, and he drops his language course and perhaps his language major or minor as well. Aronson disagrees with the view that language performance levels off when students feel they achieve maximal impact for minimal effort. He states that leveling off "may occur at that point when the learner of the language feels that his use of the language represents maximal impact at the least cost of self-image" (p. 327). In this sense attrition is directly due to a negative image that the language learner has of himself. It represents a psychological problem, perhaps attributable to the language teacher, that should be recognized by the teacher. Rivers (69) admonishes, "Know thy students." She recently conducted a poll at the University of Illinois with a sampling of 1,500 language students at all levels of instruction (65, 69). Results of the survey were startling. Students seemed aware of the importance of language and supported it as a requirement. A substantial number indicated they would have taken language even if there were no requirement, and many who were taking it as a requirement responded that they were

Self-consciousness

Role of expectations

Self-image

enjoying the language. Thogmartin (88), in an earlier but similar survey of student attitude, found a relationship between the student's foreign language experience outside the classroom and his attitude toward language study. Student motivation seemed related to general cultural interest and travel facility rather than to research or career requirements.

Reasons for dropping FL

When the foreign language student drops his study, what are his reasons? Papalia (62) found that students dropped because

1 The second and third levels of language were hard
2 The student preferred another subject
3 The student was just not interested any longer
4 He was advised by his counselor not to continue
5 He did not like the teacher.

While it is not humanly possible to be pleasing to our entire student body, certainly the teacher can be aware of his "image" among his students, and he can be sensitive to what the students expect in teacher behavior.

One might conclude that flexibility in pace or content, such as is increasingly practiced in individualized instruction, contributes significantly to the positive image of foreign languages and the teacher. This is not the case, however. As Rivers (70) concludes elsewhere, "The simple answer to the problem is not merely 'individualization'; an individualized program, just as much as a classroom situation, presupposes materials with built-in learning approaches" (p. 88). Grittner (27) observes that the value of the subject matter, no matter how well organized, will still be perceived differently by each individual.

Affective influence of teacher

Normand (60) emphasizes the need for tailoring teacher behavior and posture to students' declared desires. In his study he maintains that the student wants a teacher who is dynamic and not bound to a textbook. Schotta (78) postulates that students drop courses in close relationship to *which* professor teaches the course. To be sure, the effect of the teacher on learning is a debated issue (31), but McNutt (49) asserts that students like a subject if they can relate to the teacher. Rivers (70) suggests that the personal involvement of the teacher is just as important as the method of instruction. Disick (14) emphasizes that the teacher does affect the student's feelings through "words, tones of voice, facial expressions, gestures and body language." There is little doubt that, as Schaefer (75) states, we are dealing with a generation of "feelies." Walker (90) investigated students' likes and dislikes and summarizes positive teacher characteristics. His students wanted the teacher to be interested in the student as an individual and to teach a "living" language. The best-liked teachers were "inspiring," "enthusiastic"; the least-liked were "arrogant," "demanding," "poorly prepared," "boring," "lacking impartiality," treated students "with contempt."

A generation of "feelies"

Because of the attitudes of our students we have begun to concern ourselves with "humanistic" education. Freire (22), Greer and Rubenstein (25), Maslow (46) and Rogers (71) encourage the teacher to explore the students' psychological needs for security and dignity, love and respect, as well as to assist him in achieving a realization of his own identity and potential. Warriner (91) summarizes the humanistic approach as a cooperative venture in which both teacher and students teach, choose program content, and learn together. The humanistic teacher is no longer a dominant, authoritarian figure. Learning, rather than teaching, becomes the focus, and motivation stems from the latent desire of each individual for his own growth and change. The teaching strategies are largely noncompetitive, allowing each student to improve his own self-image.

Humanistic response

At the heart of the humanistic approach is the student-centered classroom. Grittner (26) rejects performance-based and career-oriented programs in favor of what he calls the "modern humanistic bandwagon," primarily because of its broader base; it presents language as a unified discipline and a "worthwhile personal experience." It is precisely this personal experience that makes the approach so appealing when we consider what the individual teacher can do to improve the image of foreign languages in the classroom. Ryder (90) has much the same priority in mind:

> Our rigor and uniformity ignore one of the basic insights of Albert North Whitehead: that in the learning process a stage of "enthusiasm" must precede that of precision. Much precision is necessary in language work, but not as much as we have insisted on. The students' plea for "fluency first" has an element of justification. Especially if we are to lose our young people soon or perhaps never get a chance at them, we had better order our priorities differently: precision second to enthusiasm (p. 7).

The teacher must carefully structure sensitive situations that allow the student not only the desired quantity but also the quality of expression. This is indicative of the new demands placed upon today's well-qualified language teacher. His counterpart in the 1960s would not recognize him.

Generating enthusiasm

Schnaidt (74) suggests we hold conferences with each student to encourage him to continue his language study and that we throw away our old lesson plans. Flynn and Trott (21) recommend lively classroom activities: scrambled dialogues, picture matches, puzzles, and games. McNutt (48) has devised a number of "sneaky tricks" to encourage class participation by the student who doesn't like to talk in class. Loew (40) organizes nature walks, advertisement dramatizations, foreign recipes, and imagined guided tours of major foreign cities. A very appealing idea is posited by Meredith (50) who turns his students into film makers. His project has far-reaching effects, for he shows the films during a "parent's night," awarding "Oscars" during the "French Film Festival." Another film enterprise is described by Listerman (38). These projects furnish a good example of what we think of as lateral image impact; they cross the boundaries of the teacher's immediate environment, bringing a positive foreign language experience to parents, administrators, and media representatives. Becker (7) gives concrete suggestions on conducting student-to-student correspondence; he explains form, content, and teacher procedure. The value of his report is increased by the fact that his "pen pals" are not commercially acquired nor arranged through the personal friendships of the teacher.

Personal relationships

The intention here is not to catalogue innovations; it is merely to review some activities that stress a close personal relationship between student and teacher, a relationship that is likely to result in a more positive image of the teacher and the discipline.

Students as teachers

Several reports of successful peer-teaching experiences in foreign languages are available. Beach (6) finds that advanced students work well with young children in Grades 2 to 5. A project such as hers can give revitalization to FLES. The same idea, again with successful results, has been reported by Smith (80). On the college level peer teaching and cooperative teaching are gaining acceptance; furthermore, at least one instance of peer-group persuasion has been recorded. Stern (89) relates that at a student meeting, called to discuss the language requirement, a large number of language majors defended the requirement.

The teacher and the family

An expansion of the foreign language teacher's intramural image is his relationship with the family of his student. Disick (15) explains the problem:

> "Personal attitudes and feelings toward language determine the value that parents, counselors, and administrators place on language study. The current trend toward dropping foreign language requirements may result, in part, from attitudes these decision makers formed when they themselves were enrolled in foreign language courses" (p. 96).

Parents can be powerful allies of the teacher. Stern (89) reports the reversal of a decision to drop German when the members of the local PTA objected. He sees a "direct relationship between the stability of a language program and excellence of teaching on the one hand, *coupled with* involvement with high school or campus affairs on the other" (p. 1). Preller (67) initiated a direct letter campaign to the parents of good students, urging them to encourage their children to continue their language study. Results are untabulated, but enrollment has increased.

No study has been undertaken to establish a relationship between language experiences of siblings. It would be interesting to know whether admiration and imitation of an older brother or sister leads a child into or away from language study, and if he elects a language, whether he chooses the same or a different language. In any event, it would not be insidious to involve younger brothers and sisters in language experience, perhaps through a song, a game, or even counting from one to ten.

Teachers as political infiltrators

Excursions beyond the boundaries of the teacher's own discipline provide an intriguing way of influencing public opinion. Perhaps such ventures amount to political infiltration. Nevertheless, they have been undertaken with a modest degree of success. Stern (89) reports a language teacher functioning as a counselor in a high school, language teachers involved in school board elections, and members of language departments elected to the curriculum committee. Such mobility among language teachers seemed lagging until recently. Edgerton (17) advises, "Know thine enemy," those representative opponents of foreign languages among students, parents, members of local school administrations and boards of education, as well as civil servants in state capitols, legislators, and others, whose votes are determined by their attitudes toward what we do.

Language teachers: Leaders?

At the same time he laments that the foreign language teacher in the United States today is not a leader, that for some reason, "young people who are nonleaders seem to be attracted to careers in foreign language" (p. 8). This plight seems to be evident when we look at the people who *are* in leadership positions. In general if they are not hostile to languages, they are indifferent to them. Probably not much can be done to alter this dismal situation with the present generation of language teachers; our students offer a slight glimmer of hope. But have we ever taken the opportunity to suggest, let alone encourage that they explore political action as a means of advancing the study of languages? Should not a class hour be devoted to "public relations": what needs to be done for languages, what can be done, and how to do it? It would seem to be an urgent requirement to prepare the future language teacher for interaction with those intramural groups. One such group is the teacher's professional foreign language association and his concomitant relation with colleagues in his own discipline.

Professional organizations

Dunham (16) finds great display of solidarity through increased participation in professional organizations. To be sure, membership in the organizations is increasing. The March 1974 issue of the *Foreign Language Annals* indicates that ACTFL membership has increased from 4,750 in 1968 to 9,544 in 1973. Similar increases can be shown for the AATs. Such increases might have the soporific effect of lulling us into complacency, until we notice that the 1972 membership in ACTFL increased by only 214 members and that of 1973 by only 244. Mulvihill (55) estimates only 15 percent of the nation's language teachers belong to ACTFL and assumes that percentage membership in MLA, or the AATs, or the state organizations is scarcely greater. He does not suggest that "simple membership in any one or all of such organizations is the solution to anything. Obviously only membership in terms of active personal involvement can have any real results" (p. 15). He encourages a "spirit of professionalism" that includes an urge for self-renewal and an obligation toward keeping abreast of a fast-moving discipline. As Paquette (64) has stated, "information is essential to decision making." Such information is catalogued and disseminated through our professional organizations.

When one considers the amounts of money extracted from lawyers and doctors to support their professional associations, it would seem that membership in four or five associations would still fall within the admittedly more modest means of a language teacher. Most public school teachers feel financially pinched by having to join a state teachers' association, which usually has a rather high membership fee. But public school teachers could gain a great deal from the language associations for lesser membership fees. An experiment in joint collection of fees was conducted in Connecticut (86) with a result that all organizations increased their membership. Such organizations can lead the most effective campaigns to influence public opinion. We have only to look at the proposals of The Joint National Committee for Foreign Languages (32), which is not a membership organization but is supported by the AATs, ACTFL, and the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, and the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages (PNCFL) to discover that such mutual concern and cooperation can benefit all in the profession regardless of individual support. In May 1973 the PNCFL included in a proposal for professional cooperation "the planning and execution of a public relations effort" and "vigorous public promotion of foreign language study." Support is needed. The membership must insist that the organization devote some of its budget to public relations.

Impact on public opinion

Foreign language organizations provide services and assistance, and all teachers should become acquainted with them, participate in them, and strengthen them. Valuable information concerning structure and membership campaigns is available in a monograph by Ludwig (42).

What the organization can do

Typical of the exciting projects functioning within the foreign language organizations is Baumann and Harvey's (4) new approach to placement. A network of professionally aware and dedicated volunteers disseminates information about job vacancies and candidates for open positions through a Placement Information Network. Its success depends upon the commitment of individuals in our profession.

Another project, initiated by the Hawaiian Language Teachers Association, is reported by Niedzielski (59). He describes T.T.T. (Travelling Teachers' Teams), heterogenous groups of foreign language teachers who emulate the business practice of sending sales representatives into the field to inform "consumers" of pertinent information. They might appear before business groups, students, clubs and a variety of other audiences–indeed, anyone who will listen to them.

As Savaiano (74) reports, too often a language teacher looks to his professional association only when he is threatened by retreating enrollment and advancing administrators. It would be better if he would allow the association to provide him with a continuous diet rather than a radical cure.

Exchange programs

We can interact with our colleagues without benefit of an organization; indeed, we have an obligation to do so. Some foreign language teachers (67) have established exchange teaching programs on a local level–between a high school and a junior high school. Teacher initiative can lead to workshops, brainstorming sessions, and other instructive groups. O'Brien (61) gives practical "how-to" advice on establishing an overnight retreat for foreign language teachers. A teacher might even establish a pen-pal relationship with a teacher in the foreign country (57). Masciantonio (44) finds it necessary for college classics teachers to contribute to public school programs, not only in curriculum development but in public relations as well. There is an acute need for the practicing teacher to involve himself in writing and research. The recently revised format of *Accent on ACTFL* brings much to many in the hope that a few will find something they personally can use.

Recognizing success

If we find colleagues who are not doing a good job, Schnaidt (77) suggests we tell them so, and outstanding teachers should be recognized. National recognition is possible through *Accent on ACTFL's* "In the Spotlight" series (9, 18, 34); most of the teachers selected have already won other teaching awards, often from their state foreign language organization. Nothing succeeds like success, and it does no harm to draw success to the attention of the media.

Deeken (12) presents a plethora of possible activities that the individual teacher can undertake:

1 He can recognize achievement of a student or students, not

only in class but before the PTA, an assembly, and the public.

2 He can form reading groups with teachers in other disciplines to peruse the literary diet of the young (for example, *Mad* magazine, *Playboy*) to find applicable references to our subjects.

3 He can urge the establishment of a school "Council on the Humanities."

4 He can mix day students with adult night classes.

5 He can hold colloquia with other teachers, parents, politicians, and counselors.

6 He can establish liaison with local merchants for sharing mutual concerns.

7 He can give up lament in favor of leadership.

PR within the school

Knop (36) acquaints us with what she calls "blatant advertising": using the classroom door or the school trophy case for eye contact with the foreign language, submitting student articles to the school newspaper, and keeping a camera in the room for those moments when something succeeds. She also fosters a vigorous dialogue, either in person or on tape, between her students and nearby college classes.

Another very important group the foreign language teacher encounters in an intramural relationship is comprised of counselors and administrators. Vital in this relationship is a cordial working arrangement between the foreign language chairman and the school staff, described by Loew (39). Every teacher must understand what the administration can and cannot do. To demand the impossible is foolhardy, but if the teacher or supervisor can present a *modus operandi*, a means of solution, with a request–never a demand–much more can be accomplished. Levy (37) has summarized many of the problems facing us in this area, and Schaefer (76) has focused on the posture of administration *vis-à-vis* the language requirement. We must remember that administrators always face a formula for acquiring funds, whether from state or private sources. Good preparation involves finding out what the formula is and how a proposal can fit within it.

In the administrative area we find a dearth of foreign language leadership. Far too few deans, chancellors, and college

Relationship to administrators

presidents are former language teachers. Hall (28) conducted a survey in 1966, exploring primarily the background and attitudes toward foreign language study held by principals in Washington state secondary schools. While the principal's own foreign language study has no consistent effect on his foreign language program, his program is influenced by his attitude toward language study. Significantly, 95 percent of the principals were not language teachers. Since principals may lack a positive attitude toward language study, we question the efficacy of presenting administrators with a list of suggestions that require immediate attention. Kliebard (35) and Lurie (43) may offer the reader some guidance on achieving academic change. One may even find the administrator in a friendly camp; Lederer (3) was able to solicit the endorsement of foreign language study by the Association of Assistant Principals.

More subtle, because of its less mechanistic and more personal nature, is the teacher's relationship to the school counselor. Lubic (41) does not give much guidance in the way of diplomacy, but rather lays most blame for alienation at the feet of the audiolingual method. Smith (81) gives assistance in common-sense procedures. He recommends first acquiring a clear view of the guidance procedure in the school: Does the counselor make all guidance decisions, or does the teacher assist by informing the students so that they may make intelligent choices? Smith further suggests that we not expect the counselor to expend greater time and energy in our behalf, but an offer to redirect his expenditure might interest him.

Midwest City project

One worthwhile project conducted by the Oklahoma Foreign Language Teachers Association should be given wide recognition (52). It involves a promotion contest in connection with National Foreign Language Week. Teachers in the Midwest City project met with principals and counselors and presented them with promotional packets (for example, "Why Study Foreign Languages," "Vocational Opportunities for Foreign Language Students"). During the week representatives of each language were responsible for programming on the school's intercom. Articles on foreign language activities were printed in the school and local papers. Bulletin boards displayed cultural information. Cartoon leaflets were distributed. Students in high school classes presented skits to junior high students and encouraged them to study languages. It is an example of what close cooperation with colleagues, counselors, and administrators can accomplish.

Principles of negotiation

If there is an underlying adage in negotiation, it might be this: Don't ask for something for nothing. Show the other party how he can benefit from your proposal. Do most of his work for him. Present a plan rather than an idea. Have necessary intermediate steps worked out. We can usually count on good will if it does not obligate anyone to expend additional effort. Muster support from your colleagues, or at least have their agreement. These ground rules are particularly valid when the foreign language teacher steps from the intramural area of public image into the extramural arena.

The extramural image

Saturday FLES

All indications point to a closer cooperation between school and community as schools seek fiscal support and as the community seeks service. Central Michigan University (68) initiated a program to provide practica for apprentice teachers and a broader dimension for its program of instruction by beginning a series of one-hour Saturday morning classes for elementary and junior high students. Similar experiments with Saturday morning classes for FLES students have been initiated in Texas and in Washington (20). As emphasis grows on continuing education, it also seems probable that more adult courses will emerge, either on a credit or a noncredit basis. These programs extend the teacher's usual domain, while remaining within an educational confine.

The business community

The business community is often quite willing to support and promote foreign language activities; they offer direct aid, for example, advertising space, donation of foreign products, realia, meeting space. The placement program of Baumann and Harvey (4) involves canvassing commercial outlets for the need for language-trained people. As the business world becomes more conscious of this function, placement activity will increase. National ethnic groups can make valuable contributions, such as scholarships (5), and can take over some of the promotional activity themselves.

Bringing events of international interest to the attention of the public has been suggested by Whitcomb (93). He cites the

Significant events

furor of community activity surrounding the winter Olympics in Colorado and EXPO 74. The American Revolution Bicentennial Commission has recommended that every American learn at least one foreign language during bicentennial preparations (92). Community incentive programs have centered on this recommendation in New Jersey (10) and Colorado (66). Bilingual education has brought with it a variety of public service benefits. Galvan's (58) Spanish classes in a Spanish-speaking community are assigned to work with townspeople at the civic center, in the home, with the elderly, and with the needy who do not understand what help is available to them and do not know how to ask for the help they need. Such an idea could easily be adapted to any community where a segment of the population does not speak fluent English.

Individual native speakers from the community can also be brought to the classroom. André (1) gives procedural advice for using such persons in the classroom. She finds that asking them to *do* things that demonstrate cultural differences–greetings, solving math problems at the board, and map work–generates enthusiasm among students. More guidelines are given by Fiber (19). McArthur and Carr (47) summarize many resources for using French in the community. Bomse (8) suggests we incorporate the community into classroom content: social work, law, law enforcement, and language which frequently is used in housing, tax, and unemployment offices as well as license bureaus.

The language fair

An area of great community impact is the language fair. It flourishes under a variety of names, but whatever the name, it is an uncommonly popular lively activity, guaranteed to please nearly everyone involved. One of the largest is the Texas Association of German Students Annual Convention (73). About 1,500 members come to take part in the activities of the convention, which include full-length dramas, art displays, Volkswagen rallies, and soccer games. Again, enrollment tabulations are incomplete, but a large increase in enrollment is generally recorded by whatever institution hosts the convention. The obvious advantage of such activity is the visibility of a language that it offers the public. Kaplan (33) and Meyer(51) offer guidelines on organizing a fair on a dimension that one or two teachers can carry out.

Another community-based activity growing in popularity is the language camp. With rather modest means, abundant good will can be achieved, if the camp is ably administered and enthusiastically staffed. More "how-to" literature in this potentially fruitful realm is needed.

Club activities can catch the public eye. A classical association has sponsored *Feriae Latinae* at shopping centers and sponsored Latin Olympics (30). A French club presented a special travel program at the city library. The reader is referred to a new monograph on extracurricular activities by Campbell (11). Special attention should be drawn to DePue (13), who has undertaken to "sell" Latin to the community by inviting representatives to open houses, Latin Week, Roman banquets and slave auctions and by informing newspapers, radio, and television of the activities.

As Garfinkel (23, 24) reminds us, we find ourselves in a position of having to "sell" foreign languages much as one sells mouthwash, candidates, or curricula. Much free publicity is available from a variety of media. The reader is also referred to Anita Monsee's chapter in this volume. A *caveat* is in order: We must realize that in these areas we are nonprofessionals, and professionals can probably do a better job. Stretching the budget to call in professional public relations, art, or advertising personnel is worthwhile.

Using PR techniques

Within defined limitations, however, we can employ some of the methods of modern advertising. Teitelbaum (87) confesses he reads books on salesmanship rather than on methodology; he opts to adapt some of the techniques used in top television commercials: Convince the consumer that he must buy your brand name. Convince the consumer that he has only to try your product once and he will be "sold." Convince the consumer that your brand name will help him sexually–or at least financially. Convince him that he has to *buy*, that he *needs*, so that it becomes a question of *which* foreign language rather than *whether*. In this hard-hitting presentation, Teitelbaum urges we drop the promise of "broader horizons or intellectual prowess" and urge the student to sign up for minicourses, being satisfied with "smaller profit" rather than "losing the sale," instant wealth, instant smile, instant success. He further urges the state foreign language organization to pay an advertising agency to develop a dynamic sales campaign for each language. These proposals may not be palatable for all. They would certainly not suit the "fragile French teacher." But perhaps the hard sell comes with hard times. Strasheim (85) sees danger in the idea that foreign language enrollments can be developed through newspaper and publicity campaigns. If the product does not come up to the "pitch," both buyer and seller are losers.

Certainly any language teacher can inform the media about language activities, goals, and the importance of language study. Stern (83) reports a locally produced television show featuring FLES in Cincinnati that required extensive preparation and participation of teachers and students.

Legislation

Another source of help is available to the language teacher through the legislative process. Historically, one need only remember the origin of NDEA and the overwhelming response of language teachers. We must remember the hours of selfless work given to this legislation, and more recently to the Bilingual Education Act, by foreign language teachers who appeared and defended it before various legislative bodies. More assistance is needed, and the language teacher will be called upon repeatedly to present testimony. Others will need, according to the dictates of their conscience, to support this and other legislation affecting the status of language study and the preservation of linguistic resources. The teacher must not overlook the power of a letter or resolution from a language organization. Again, words of caution are in order. Some teachers are by nature lobbyists, and some are abrasive. In the words of one teachers' group, "Courteous persistence can wear down resistance." Mimeographed letters have little effect. In letters trying to influence legislation, it is best to be precise and to use personal stationery. Not all letters need to pertain to legislation; if you are planning a French activity, ask the mayor to declare "French week;" if you are hosting a language meeting, read a letter of support you have solicited from the Governor; always invite your local state representative to be your guest at a language event. Many such areas of political activity remain to be explored by language teachers.

Conclusion

1 Although the need is immediate, the effect of a public relations campaign may be felt only in the long range.

2 Massive public relations campaigns are best left to the

language organizations. When individuals venture into this arena, it is recommended that they consult professionals.

3 The area of greatest image influence is, for the individual teacher, his or her classroom. Within a five-year period, we may build or destroy a positive image before the equivalent population of a small American community. More effort should be exerted toward developing a crusading zeal for foreign languages among our students, at all levels, elementary through graduate school.

4 Among many possible language activities, the greatest impact probably stems from the language convention or fair, primarily because of the heterogeneous involvement of secondary and college level personnel with the community.

5 It should be understood that no accurate measuring device of public impact has been found yet. The teacher must use his own discretion about how effective he can be by dressing in a toga and advertising his language courses during registration. A banality barrier conceals itself until the teacher examines the role of language in his school and community, and the image of language and himself that he wants to project.

6 Sudden increase in enrollment does not insure a good language program. Attrition figures should be recorded and analyzed. It is recommended that an image be accurate and not based on promise.

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Learning theory for the classroom teacher

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One often hears that little is known about how people learn, a statement echoed even by psychologists now and then. True, there is much we do *not* know about learning, but there is also much that we *do* know about learning in general, and foreign language learning in particular. In this chapter we try to tell the classroom teacher what we know, or at least what we think we know, about learning, memory, forgetting, and the like. Some of the time we simply remind the teacher of what he or she already knows or has a good intuition about, for some of our knowledge about learning is in good correspondence with ideas that people acquire as a result of their own experiences in learning.

Learning theory

Learning theory, in the hands of psychologists and others who have made a study of the subject, is in part an attempt to systematize and clarify notions about learning that arise from common experience, both by logical analysis of these notions and by testing hypotheses derived from them through experiments in the laboratory and in the classroom. In the process a number of fundamental questions about learning have been

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raised which, despite much research, have not been finally resolved. For example, we do not know whether some kind of reward or reinforcement is critical in producing learning, and if so, exactly how these rewards and reinforcements should be utilized in the management of learning. Another unresolved issue is whether conscious planning plays a role in learning, and if so, how it can be utilized to serve learning. Schools of thought have developed and had their day on these and other issues. We give some attention to these matters, but the main emphasis is on facts and theories that can be offered as reasonably well-confirmed and of practical use to those concerned with foreign language teaching and learning.

Throughout our discussion the focus is more on the learner than on the teacher. There is much truth in Stevick's (123) remark that the teacher "has only one job, and that is to keep the students in contact with the language" (p. 118). It is the student who does the learning, after all. But the teacher's aim should be to optimize the conditions for that learning, which includes motivating the student and giving him directions and information about how to profit most from instruction. In this function of optimizing the conditions for learning, the teacher has most need of knowledge about processes of learning.

Different levels of analysis

Our analysis of the student's task in learning a language can be carried out at different levels. For convenience, we speak of two levels: a *macro* level and a *micro* level. At the macro level we consider the total task of learning a language and the factors that promote or retard learning; at the micro level we look at specific parts of the learning task and the conditions and processes that influence learning.

The task of learning a foreign language: The "macro" level

Objectives of teaching

Objectives, like task analyses, can be stated at different levels of detail. At one extreme is the notion of language competence, emphasized by Chomsky (37) and his followers, whereby the speaker of a language is said to have "internalized" a set of rules for producing and comprehending language in its spoken and perhaps also its written form. Muskat-Tabakowska (87) has elaborated concepts of language competence as they apply in language teaching. At the other extreme one could attempt to identify literally thousands of specific "rules" in phonology, *lexis,* and grammar that the "competent" speaker has supposedly internalized and thus create lists of highly specific objectives that can form the content of a teaching program. Somewhere in the middle of this continuum is the traditional classification of objectives according to "skills"–listening, speaking, reading, and writing, perhaps also with some reference to "humane" objectives having to do with culture and literature. The audiolingual method that came into vogue in recent years brought with it a reaffirmation of the importance of speaking and listening skills, which are of primary interest to many students. Nevertheless, as Burling (14) points out, some students need or desire only passive skills, especially reading. In devising courses for such students the instructor might take this into consideration by reducing emphasis on active skills.

Skills to be taught

While cautions about behavioral objectives should be considered (Grittner, 55), it is practically impossible to apply theories of learning and teaching without looking at the learner's task in terms of some form of behavioral objectives (Steiner, 121), that is, what the learner is expected to be able to perform. Behavioral objectives can, of course, be defined too narrowly and too trivially (e.g., when the student hears the sentence *Donne-moi le crayon,* he will give the speaker the pencil). But the teacher should have a clear notion of the *kinds* of things the student should be able to do on the basis of his language competence at various stages of the learning process, for example, being able to answer a high proportion of questions on listening or reading passages of given levels of difficulty (thus demonstrating comprehension) or being able to elicit appropriate information from target language speakers about given topics (thus demonstrating some specifiable degree of listening and speaking ability). One need not insist on exact quantification of competences, although it is desirable in many contexts, but levels of competence should be assessable by the teacher in a reasonably objective and reliable manner. If an objective of a particular lesson is to introduce the student to a specific point of grammar, the teacher must have some way of determining the extent to which the student has truly mastered that objective, ruling out extraneous explanations of apparent success such as guessing or rote memorization. The object of teaching is always to increase some kind of competence, but the outcome can be detected only through some observable change of performance or behavior from which an increase of competence can be inferred.

Role of tests

Tests and examinations play the role of exemplifying and concretizing the major objectives of teaching, in the sense that they show the student what he is expected to be able to perform. A test can be criterion-referenced or norm-referenced, depending upon whether its interpretation specifies (in the former case) the kinds and levels of competences that are to be inferred from the results or (in the latter case) a comparison of a particular student's competences with those of others.

A model of school learning

Macro-level learning theory

A model of school learning is essentially a theory of instruction in which an attempt is made to summarize the major classes of factors that impinge upon and control the learning process (Carroll, 16). It is a macro-level theory of learning and has proved useful not only in conceptualizing reasons for student success and failure, but also in establishing educational policies (Jakobovits, 65). It is the basis upon which Bloom (7) has built programs of what he calls "mastery learning," programs based on the assumption that all or nearly all students will reach a high, but not necessarily "perfect," level of mastery of a skill or subject matter—provided they spend enough time on learning it and are taught under optimal conditions. According to Carroll's model, success in learning is a function of whether the student takes the amount of time he needs to spend on learning a task. The amount of time he *needs* to spend is determined by his aptitude and the quality of instruction he is offered. Poor-quality instruction requires him to spend more time, particularly if he has difficulty in understanding instruction. But the amount of time he *actually* spends on learning is a function of the amount of time he is allowed (his "opportunity to learn") and his willingness to spend that time (his "perseverance").

Time and learning

Time. Learning requires time. Even the learning of a single item (for example, a phoneme discrimination, the meaning of a foreign language word, the rule for a given grammatical pattern) requires some finite amount of time, and the more things to be learned, the more time is required (Carroll and Burke, 24).

Estimates of the average amount of time a person may require to attain a specified level of competence in a foreign language are usually couched in terms of hundreds of hours, amounting to many weeks, months, or even years, simply because language competence involves the learning or acquisition of enormous numbers of discrete, but of course interrelated, items. Time is conceptualized not in calendar terms but in terms of time actually spent on learning, that is, in the student's active attending and responding to the learning task.

Experiments in learning have devoted attention to the question of how learning time can be most effectively distributed. Results, based mainly on small-scale laboratory tasks, suggest that one cannot learn very much at a single sitting. Periods of learning should be interspersed with periods of rest or attention to unrelated tasks, but the exact parameters that would apply to foreign language learning over long periods of time are not known. It is obvious that there would be inevitable rest periods; perhaps the only question is how many hours per day could be spent on language learning and how this time should be distributed in the day. This would depend more on making instruction vital and varied and on maintaining student motivation than on any parameters of learning and forgetting.

Given the assumption that FL instruction is made vital and varied and that instructional periods of perhaps 50 minutes are ordinarily interspersed with rest or other activities, the amount of learning that occurs is mainly a function of clock hours, regardless of how those clock hours are distributed. That is, it is a kind of "null hypothesis" that 100 hours spent in a three-week period would (other things being equal) produce the same amount of learning as 100 hours spent over an academic year. Intensive or immersion courses in a foreign language have no particular advantage over courses spread through an academic year except that the students are brought to a particular level of proficiency in a shorter period of calendar time. For example, data from Carroll et al.'s (26) study of Spanish training in the Peace Corps show that in 200 hours of instruction spread over a 12-week period, on the average, students without prior training in Spanish achieved at about the 60th percentile in listening and about the 50th percentile in reading on norms of second-year college students on the MLA Cooperative Tests. (One can assume that the second-year college students also had about 200 hours of classroom instruction in all.) Wallace (131) has reported generally similar results: A three-week intensive course can produce gains equivalent to those achieved in a normal 30-week course. There are, of course, many practical situations in which intensive courses can be advocated, but there are also circumstances in which normally spaced courses are more feasible. The main point is to realize that language learning takes time and that the proficiency achieved is mainly a function of the amount of time spent. If one is dissatisfied with low levels of student achievement, one way of improving those levels is to find ways of allowing students to devote more time to learning (DeFrancis, 45). More homework is sometimes not a bad idea!

Course density

One aspect of the time variable is how much can be covered in a given period of time. As Fiks and Corbino (49) have shown, courses vary in their "density," and students are quite aware of how a course is paced, at least in terms of how rapidly new vocabulary is introduced. Their results suggest, however, that well-motivated students can tolerate a fairly high rate of new vocabulary introduction—on the average about six new words per instruction hour. Holley (61) found, surprisingly, that in German reading materials the vocabulary density could be as high as one new word in every 15 running words of text without adversely affecting students' learning, comprehension, reading time, or feelings about the difficulty and enjoyability of the materials. If we are to follow the advice of Atkinson (4), the problem is really one of using time most efficiently; his methods suggest that this can be done if attention is focused more on what students do not know than on what they already know.

Aptitude as learning rate

Aptitude. In the Carroll model, aptitude is conceived of as a variable that affects the amount of time a student needs to achieve mastery to a given point. Some students learn a given task much faster than others. Student foreign language aptitude (as measured by such tests as the Modern Language Aptitude Test in either of its forms [Carroll and Sapon, 27, 28] or the Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery [102]) seems to depend upon relatively unmodifiable personal characteristics such as the student's ability to retain foreign language sounds and words over periods of time, his ability to comprehend grammatical structures, and his ability to make inferences about foreign language. To some extent these abilities may be related to intelligence, but to a considerable degree they are quite specific to foreign language learning and thus independent of intelligence. Aptitude tests can be used to predict rate of learning and, consequently, to predict the expected levels of proficiency a student will attain after a given number of clock hours of instruction. They can be used for selection and admission of students (where there are administrative reasons for this), for placement in relatively homogeneous language-learning ability groups, or for diagnosis of probable types of learning difficulties (Cloos, 40). There seem to be no conclusive research reports about the use of aptitude tests in creating homogeneous ability groups; however, one hears informal reports that this procedure is advantageous.

Differences in student learning rates can also be catered to by individualization of instruction (Clausing, Mueller, and Stein, 39). Chastain (32) found some indication of the desirability of assigning students to different kinds of instruction (audiolingual vs. cognitive) on the basis of aptitude and other student characteristics, and Hauptmann (57) found that a situational (as contrasted to a structural) approach was more effective for children with high aptitude on the elementary form of the MLAT (Carroll and Sapon, 27). (There was no significant difference for low-aptitude children.) Mueller and Harris (86) and Mueller (85) suggest that programmed instruction can help low-aptitude students bypass the difficulties they would encounter in normal classroom instruction. Politzer and Weiss (106) found that while it proved to be difficult to train the aptitudes measured by the Carroll-Sapon MLAT (27), training of inductive and reasoning abilities prior to FL learning had some promise in improving learning success. Politzer (105) recommends the use of aptitude tests, where appropriate, in research on foreign language learning and teaching, in the hope of finding answers to the question: What is *the best* method for *what kind of student*? Indeed, aptitude tests have been used to provide control of an important source of variance in many of the researches covered in this review, although few of them have actually disclosed reliable aptitude-treatment interactions that would answer the kind of question stated by Politzer. In the meantime, teachers may be able to find ways of adjusting to individual learning styles by careful trial and observation.

Noncognitive aptitudes

Although aptitude has generally been measured by tests of so-called cognitive abilities, there is some evidence that foreign language achievement is partly dependent upon certain personality characteristics (Brown, 11). Taylor et al. (125) found *empathy* related to correct pronunciation in spontaneous sentences, while *intuition* was related to accuracy of pronunciation in sentences repeated from a model. Perhaps empathy is related to the *integrative* motivational variable discussed below.

Age of the learner

Age and other variables related to aptitude. Norms on standardized tests of aptitude show that aptitude tends to increase with age, at least up to a point; evidence indicates that aptitude may decline somewhat in later maturity (Fiks, 48). On the average, females tend to have higher aptitude scores and in general are better foreign language learners, but there is much overlap between males and females in this respect. Evidence about whether young children are especially facile in learning pronunciation is conflicting; while Asher and García (3) and Ramirez and Liberty (109) found positive evidence for this, Olson and Samuels (98) found no such evidence in a carefully controlled laboratory study. An optimum age for starting the learning of a foreign language is still debatable. Because achievement is a function of time and learning rate, the answer to this question is an individual one for each student and depends on what age one desires the student to achieve a given degree of competence. Given that information and information about the individual's rate of learning, one should be able to calculate the age at which he should start. A slow learner obviously would have to start earlier. Of course for the classroom teacher questions about optimum age for starting are largely irrelevant; the teacher must do the best he can for the students in his classroom, regardless of age or aptitude. But by using methods and materials appropriate to given age and aptitude levels, he can take age and aptitude into account in planning and conducting instruction (Carroll, 21).

Opportunity to learn

Opportunity to learn. If students are for any reason not permitted or not encouraged to spend the amount of time they need to learn, they will fall short of levels of mastery that may be desired. This obvious fact is forcefully illustrated in the report (Valette, 128, pp. 71–72) of an experiment conducted by Melvin Smith (119). One group of classes had teachers who were informed of criterion test results and were not permitted to advance the class to a new course unit until 90 percent of the students were able to respond correctly to 80 percent of the items. Other groups were paced at the teacher's option, whether the teacher was informed of criterion test results or not; typically they simply moved on to another unit after finishing one. On final testing the former scored markedly higher than the latter. One could say that the pace of instruction was too fast for many of the students in the teacher-option groups, that is, that many of the students in these groups did not have adequate opportunity to learn. Other reports confirming the usefulness of proper pacing of instruction to adjust to student learning rates have been offered by Brown et al. (10), Bull (13), and Papalia and Zampogna (100).

Perseverance and motivation

Perseverance. The amount of time the student is willing to spend in active attention and responding to the learning task—perseverance—is a reflection of the student's motivation. Since amount of learning is (or is claimed to be) solely a function of the amount of time spent, it does not matter *how* the student is motivated or what the sources of his motivation are. Even unmotivated students can learn, as long as they attend actively to the learning task (their motivation might be said to be "to do their best under the circumstances"). But there is evidence that students with meaningful sources of motivation are more likely to devote sustained effort to learning, and anything the teacher can do to encourage or kindle those sources of motivation is advantageous. Educational psychologists usually speak of *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* sources of motivation. Intrinsic sources are those that arise from the inherent interest, fascination, or novelty of the learning task itself; extrinsic sources are those that arise from the student's personal goals. Often the distinction is hard to draw, particularly when the learning task is itself closely related to the student's goals. FL teachers sometimes fail, however, to make learning tasks sufficiently relevant to the student's goals, even when those goals include an active desire to learn the foreign language. Questionnaire surveys (Schotta, 113; Walker, 130) show that students find foreign language courses taught in an uninteresting dull way, not adequately oriented toward goals of competence in speaking and in active communication. According to Smith (118), many students are frustrated and provoked to anxiety by irrelevant content and capricious course conduct. Many dropouts have had poor attitudes and motivation, possibly arising from poor instruction

(Bartley, 6). The first thing the FL teacher must consider in course planning is whether the goals of the course correspond to possible student goals and whether the content and conduct of the course are intrinsically interesting and truly reflect the professed goals. Proper attention to these matters is the best way to promote student perseverance.

Types of motivation

Even with a properly planned and conducted course, students will differ in their goals. Some may rightly perceive no place for foreign language study in their lives, they turn up in the FL class simply because of some external pressure (for example, admission requirements for higher education, parental advice). An appeal to the self-esteem of these students–to do the best they can or to make the best use of their time under the circumstances–or to their innate drive–to enjoy it as best they can–may be the teacher's only resort. Such students can learn even though unmotivated. But it may be useful to appraise and take account of the kinds of motives present in students who claim some kind of interest in foreign language study; the types of instruction can be adjusted accordingly. Gardner and Lambert (52) have reported extensive research on two types of motivation: *instrumental* motivation, displayed by the student who feels he needs foreign language competence for some practical end such as getting a special kind of job, and *integrative* motivation, present in the student who wants to learn a foreign language so that he can in some way enter into the foreign culture and be accepted by members of that culture. Although their earlier results suggested that integrative motives were more conducive to success, they acknowledge that, depending upon the sociocultural situation, either type of motive may be equally effective. Lukmani (77), for example, found that instrumental motives were dominant among Marathi students learning English; similar results were reported by Gardner and Lambert (52) in the Philippines. The motives of businessmen and others taking the commercial courses described by Marottoli (78) are largely instrumental in nature; he comments that these courses are effective and financially successful to the extent that they are directly addressed to student needs–a lesson to be learned, he says, by those who conduct FL courses in public education and academia.

While instrumental and integrative motives may be important, they may not be particularly strong or frequent in the typical American student. FL teachers (and certainly researchers) have failed to recognize other possible motives for active, attentive learning, such as the native intellectual curiosity about the nature of language of some students or the self-esteem that can come from accomplishment in a foreign language. Cooke (43) discusses steps the teacher can take to promote positive attitudes on the part of students. Teachers may also take a hint from Yousef's (134) report of teaching Mid-East students something about American culture in order to minimize cultural shock upon reading American literature.

Quality of instruction

Quality of instruction. The time the student needs to spend on learning is also determined by quality of instruction. If quality is poor, the student must spend more time, particularly if he is deficient in the ability to understand what he is to learn and to draw inferences for himself. If the instruction is well organized, conducted, and managed, he needs to spend only that amount of time required in view of his personal characteristics (his "aptitude").

Instructional quality itself is comprised of a large number of subsidiary variables—the teacher's personality, the degree to which the teacher motivates the student, the way the content of instruction is organized and sequenced, the extent to which time is used efficiently, and the way the student is assessed and rewarded for his efforts. We consider many of these variables under the micro level of learning theory, but at this point we mention only one variable that may have relevance to the overall quality of instruction—the kind of interaction that takes place between the teacher and the class. Opinions about what a "classroom climate" should be differ, and there is little research evidence to suggest what it should be to promote learning most effectively. Some believe in a large amount of direct teacher control; others favor a more indirect type of control by the teacher, with acceptance of student needs and feelings and a climate in which students feel comfortable, free, and rewarded for their efforts. Moskowitz (83, 84) is obviously of the latter opinion, although she recognizes that the foreign language context may present special problems in view of students' poor control of the target language. Her findings, nevertheless, suggest that student attitudes are more positive under indirect classroom control; her procedures for obtaining analyses of classroom interaction are to be recommended at least for making teachers aware of the type of learning atmosphere they are creating.

Studies illustrating the model

Pennsylvania Study

The "Pennsylvania Study." Time (years of study) and aptitude (as measured by the MLAT) were clearly shown to be factors accounting for large portions of the variance in student achievement in Philip Smith's (120) large study of foreign language instruction in high schools in Pennsylvania. Throughout the four years of instruction, classes under different procedures of instruction (cognitive and audiolingual) made roughly comparable progress as shown by a number of criterion achievement tests; at each level aptitude and intelligence scores were correlated with achievement scores to a significant extent. Achievement was also correlated with student motivation. If the difference between instructional methods can be counted as an index of quality of instruction, there was evidence that instructional method played some role in achievement, but as pointed out by Carroll (19), differences among teachers (even though not well revealed in tests of teacher FL proficiency) accounted for a considerable portion of the variance.

College Foreign Language Study

The College Foreign Language study. Carroll et al.'s (25) study of factors in the foreign language attainments of senior-year language majors in U.S. colleges and universities also portrayed the roles of time, aptitude, and motivation. Time was assessed not only in terms of the number of years of study but also in time spent in travel or study abroad in a country where the target language was spoken. It was difficult to determine the role of instructional quality because of the diversity of students' experiences, but there was a clear suggestion that "a possible favorable influence is the extent to which the teacher uses the foreign language in the classroom and requires the student to use it." Language laboratory experience did not show any significant effect.

Peace Corps Study

The Peace Corps study. Carroll et al.'s (26) study of Peace Corps volunteers undergoing instruction in Spanish prior to being assigned to the field, with measurement of their progress after having been in the field for some months, showed that gains were larger while students were under formal instruction than while they were in the field. Measured aptitude was a strong predictor of progress for those without prior instruction in Spanish but a weak predictor for those with substantial knowledge of Spanish before the training. Motivational variables played some role in predicting achievement. No attempt was made to measure quality of instruction, since it was assumed to be high, but the instruction was largely paced to student progress. Students were placed in different sections on the basis of initial competence and regrouped from time to time according to progress.

IEA Study of French as a Foreign Language

The IEA Study of French as a Foreign Language. Approximately 30,000 students of French in eight countries (Chile, England, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Scotland, Sweden, Rumania, and the United States) were tested and the various factors accounting for differences in achievement were appraised in the IEA study (Carroll, 23). Mean achievements of the various countries tended to correlate strongly with the average number of years students in those countries had devoted to the study of French. The role of aptitude was possibly reflected in the substantial relation with achievement shown by students' responses to a question concerning whether they found the study of French easier or harder than other subjects. Both integrative and instrumental types of motivation were related to achievement. The role of instructional quality was demonstrated by the correlations with achievement of variables such as the amount of use of French speaking in the classroom and the teachers' ratings of their own competence in French. Finally, a measure of word knowledge in the students' native languages (an indirect measure of verbal intelligence) made an important contribution to achievement, a result that possibly demonstrates the role of the students' ability to comprehend and profit from instruction.

Theories of language acquisition

Controversies about language learning

Before analyzing the task of foreign language learning at the micro level, some views on current controversies concerning the theory of language acquisition must be set forth. Controversy arose primarily from Chomsky's efforts to construct a formal theory of language—transformational-generative grammar. These efforts led him to criticize some of the tenets of radical behaviorism as represented by B. F. Skinner, particularly the logical foundations of Skinner's theory of operant responses and the role of reinforcement in their creation, maintenance, and extinction. A careful reading of Chomsky's (36) critique of Skinner shows that Chomsky does not completely reject notions of response, behavior, and motivation; he does reject Skinner's oversimplified conception of grammatical processes and their learning. Later Chomsky (38) commented that neither a rationalist theory of transformational grammar nor a behavioristic psychology of language was sufficiently developed to be of any particular use to the foreign language teacher. Nevertheless, many linguists, psycholinguists, and foreign language teachers went over to Chomsky's camp, as it were, in support of what they regarded as a more nearly correct theory of language and language acquisition. They tended to see matters in black and white rather than shades of grey. Recent strong adherents of a mentalist, or rationalist, view of language learning as applied to language teaching have been Jakobovits (64) in his statement that "imitation, practice, reinforcement, and generalization are no longer considered theoretically productive conceptions in language acquisition"; Kandish (69) in his claim that the problems of applying transformational grammar are purely pedagogical and not a reflection on the model; Lakoff (73) in her recommendation that language texts be "rationalistically oriented" and in this sense "truly transformational"; and Diller (46) in his nearly total rejection of the structuralist viewpoint.

Contrasting theories are not in opposition

Carroll's (17) introduction of a cognitive code-learning theory of language learning as opposed to the audiolingual habit theory was misinterpreted in some quarters as signifying that he, too, rejected the latter theory; in a later publication he stressed that certain elements of each of the theories were supportable and usable (Carroll, 20). Eclectic positions of various sorts have been taken by others (Anisfeld, 1; Boswell, 8; Brown, 12; Chastain, 31, 34; Hanzeli, 56; Hok, 60; Ney, 91; Stevick, 122), but perhaps it is unfair to call all these positions "eclectic"; at least some of these writers have seen that language acquisition involves both cognitive processes and habit-formation processes. Newmark and Reibel (90), for example, believe that the "necessary and sufficient conditions" for language learning are that "particular, whole instances of language use are modeled" [for the learner] and that the learner's "particular acts using the language are selectively reinforced." They cite Bandura and Walters' (5) findings that acts can be learned merely by the learner's observation of those acts.

Sources of confusion

Several sources of confusion have arisen in the unguarded acceptance of rationalist theories. First, the controversy has centered around problems in the acquisition of grammar; there has been little attention to problems in the learning of phonology (which is partly a motor skill) or vocabulary (the learning of which has at least some resemblances to associationistic learning studied extensively by psychologists). Second, Chomsky's notion of creativity (which actually refers only to the *potential* creativity of a formal grammar) has been misinterpreted to mean that language production or performance itself is creative, nondeterministic, and in principle unpredictable; there has been a failure to recognize that the cognitive processes that are acknowledged to underlie language acquisition and production must themselves be regarded as deterministic in character, and explicable, at least in principle. Third, the fact that transformational grammar, and most other formal linguistic systems, say very little about the connection of a language system with the real world and with communicative situations has been ignored, even by language teachers who are at the same time calling for more realism and situational meaning in language teaching. Fourth, theorists have neglected the fact that if a cognitive process is to give rise to some relatively permanent change in behavior, it must be utilized frequently enough, or under sufficiently varied conditions, to lead to its automatization. It is in this sense that cognitive processes (formulated in linguistic systems as *rules*) give rise to *habits*.

Rule-governed behavior

We must stress this last point in some detail, for it underlies much of the discussion of learning theory and its applications which follow. In the early stages of the learning of any particular habit or piece of rule-governed behavior, the nature of the response to be learned and the conditions under which it is to occur must be perceived by the learner—even if only dimly—and endowed with some kind of perceptual organization. We do not know very much about this perceptual process, but we have good reason to believe that it occurs. If there is a rewarding or reinforcing condition, in the Skinnerian sense, the learner may at some time perceive or become aware of the relevance of this condition to the response and take it into account in making further responses. If the response is in some sense imitative and if it must be "shaped" to correspond to a model response, the learner may at some time become aware of the nature of the discrepancy between his own responses and the model response and become able to control that discrepancy. In later stages of learning, however, the perceptions and the ensuing responses become more facile, automatic, and habitual—often they go completely out of conscious awareness if they have been there at all. These stages can be regarded as habit-formation stages, in contrast to the early stages when cognitive processes are dominant. Unfortunately, the theory of learning has until now given much more attention to processes and conditions of habit-formation than to the cognitive processes that are involved in the early stages of learning. In fact, some experimentalists (for example, Skinner) try to proceed as if the cognitive processes did not exist or occur, in the belief that to make appeal to such processes is scientifically untenable. We need not go so far as to reject the existence of these processes, since there are scientifically respectable methods of studying them (Neisser, 88).

Nature of language acquisition

Language acquisition, then, may be viewed as a sequence of actions (either in the mind or in observable behavior) in which new elements of structure are identified and perceived by the learner in the light of previously learned structures and gradually added to his repertoire of responses by processes of habit-formation. There is increasing evidence that processes of first and second language acquisition are not radically different and that both cognitive and habit-formation processes occur in each (Cook, 42; Whitehurst, 132). Setting an audiolingual habit-formation and a cognitive code-learning theory in opposition to each other is pointless, except possibly in terms of their relative emphases on different processes. Studies comparing methodologies presumably based on the two theories (Chastain, 33; Chastain and Woerdehoff, 35; Levin, 75; Smith, 120; von Elek and Oskarsson, 129) are of value only to the extent that they show that giving one type of process more emphasis than another caters to individual differences in aptitudes and learning styles.

Older theories of learning

The treatises on human learning published in the 1950s (for example, Deese, 44) show that psychologists of that day were mainly concerned with explaining certain kinds of laboratory phenomena such as the learning of series of paired nonsense syllables (paired associate learning). The dominant theory was that of Hull (62), concerned with such concepts as habit, habit strength, drive, reinforcement, and extinction. In Hull's system, most of these concepts were regarded as intervening variables, that is, variables that are not directly observable but are inferred from observed data. Skinner's (117) account of behavior (he refused to call it a theory or a system) eschewed even intervening variables, desiring to work out a description of behavior purely from observed relations between stimuli and responses; this form of "black box" psychology has been termed *radical behaviorism* and was the form of behaviorism attacked by Chomsky. Actually, no theory or system claimed to be highly general; each theory arose out of certain kinds of data or experimental paradigms. Radical behaviorism, for example, was derived mainly from experiments with animals. As presented in a symposium edited by Melton (81), the dominant paradigms included the following: classical conditioning, operant conditioning, rote verbal learning, probability learning, incidental learning, concept learning, perceptual-motor skill learning, and problem solving.

Cognitive psychology

Throughout the history of psychology, however, there has been an undercurrent of theorizing in which various sorts of "cognitive processes" have been assumed and in which it was acknowledged that human beings (and probably animals too) have goals, plans, perceptions, expectancies, and ways of organzing experience internally (Hilgard and Bower, 59). This sort of theorizing, prominent in the writings of the nineteenth-century psychologist William James, has resurfaced and become dominant only recently in what has come to be known as cognitive psychology. Important representative works have been those of Kintsch (71); Miller, Galanter, and Pribram (82); Neisser (88); and Saltz (112). Much of cognitive psychology has been devoted to a reinterpretation of the phenomena noted in traditional paradigms in terms of an information-processing concept whereby man is viewed as a kind of computer that takes in information from the external environment, stores it temporarily in sensory registers, and then in a short-term working memory, interprets it in terms of information drawn from intermediate and/or long-term memory, processes it further through selection and rehearsal, and then may store it in long-term memory.[1] Greeno and Bjork (54) claim that the new "mental forestry" has made possible "progress toward understanding the processes involved in learning [that] can only be described in terms that sound extravagant," and that "the emergent techniques and interests in the study of cognitive processes such as attention, encoding, search strategies, rehearsal processes, and understanding constitute a kind of revolution."

Main ideas of cognitive psychology

Let us try to state some of the main ideas of cognitive psychology in a form such that they may be appreciated and utilized by the classroom teacher of a foreign language:

1 *The learner's equipment.* Cognitive psychology assumes that the learner has:
  - a An "executive" or central processing element that is in the center of awareness or focal attention and that keeps track of and indeed controls other mental processes. The executive can, for example, control whether attention is focused on some aspect of the external environment or upon some aspect of internal mental processes; it can retrieve memories from other sources, and manipulate and transform them.
  - b Sensory registers in various modalities, that is, mechanisms for receiving sense impressions from sight, hearing, internal states and movements, each having an "iconic store" that can retain sense impression for a short time in the form of afterimages.
  - c A short term memory, of relatively limited capacity (usually no more than about seven items or "chunks" of information at a time), in which material from sensory registers (or their iconic stores) or from other kinds of memory, can be stored for a limited time (a matter of seconds).
  - d An intermediate-term memory (of substantial capacity)

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[1] Space limitations here permit us to give only the briefest sketch of cognitive psychology—a sketch that may appear to some to be only a caricature.

in which material from short-term memory or other sources can be stored for periods of intermediate duration (a matter of minutes or so).

e A long-term memory, of relatively unlimited capacity, in which information can be stored for very long periods. The long-term memory, in fact, is thought of as containing practically all that the individual has learned during his lifetime; it is the ultimate repository of new "permanent" learning. "Forgetting" is primarily a matter of difficulty in retrieving information from the long-term memory.

2 *Momentary changes of state.* From a temporal point of of view, processes can occur very rapidly. It is important to keep in mind that the learner's state changes constantly; for example, attention may rapidly shift between the external environment and internal sources of information. In any case, often the external environment changes very rapidly (as in the reception of a message in a FL), and the "executive" must be able to keep track of these changes of state. The contents of sensory registers and of short-term memory may also change extremely rapidly.

3 *The learner's state prior to presentation of a new item.* To determine what may happen upon presentation of a new piece of information the learner's state prior to this presentation must be considered. Some factors that may be relevant are: whether the learner is alerted or in some state of expectancy concerning what the new item will be, whether he expects it to fulfill some need, what kind of response he believes will be required of him. Usually these states of expectancy have been created by presentation of verbal or other kinds of information.

Cognitive responses to stimuli

4 *Cognitive response mechanisms upon receipt of a stimulus.* The kind of attention the learner will give to a stimulus, or learning task, depends upon what kinds of expectancy have been aroused prior to stimulus presentation. For example, the learner might have been told to attend to the initial sound of a word, though of course he might choose to ignore such an instruction. The information actually available to the executive through sensory registers and their associated iconic stores is whatever has been attended to, which becomes the functional stimulus. There is appar-

ently an almost automatic process in the executive whereby the learner attempts to relate the new stimulus to information already in some type of memory, either to information that has just been presented, or to information in long-term memory, or both. He may note whether the new stimulus corresponds to his expectancy and notice how similar it is to previously experienced stimuli. If it is to any extent new and if he expects to learn it, he has the problem of creating some internal representation of the stimulus that can be stored in memory. This internal representation may take the form of an image (for example, visual, auditory, or some combination of visual and auditory) that he can continually reinstate and hold for a time in short-term memory. He may perform some sort of cognitive operation on the stimulus–for example, finding some association with it. He may "rehearse" the stimulus for himself. The probability that he will be able to transfer the functional stimulus to long-term memory seems to depend upon the degree to which the functional stimulus evokes cognitive operations such as recognition, imagery, rehearsal, or the finding of mediating associations. Of course the functional stimulus may not correspond to what the teacher or the curriculum intended it to be, in which case future responses may involve errors. (In cognitive psychology, errors are regarded as motivated in some way–they are not responses drawn from a repertoire at random. Often they are overgeneralizations or false analogies.)

5 *Consequences of stimulus processing.* The response to a stimulus is largely internal and consists of such processes as recognizing, coding, and transforming the functional stimulus, matching it with "templates" already in memory, and making decisions concerning further internal processing. If the learner is set to do so, he may render some external response, such as a sign of recognition, an attempted imitation of the stimulus (which he draws from a template stored in memory), or an attempted new response (drawn from still other templates stored in memory and selected according to procedures that have been previously learned). The executive notes and keeps track, from moment to moment, of the consequences of any of these responses (internal and external). It notes whether these

responses satisfy expectancies or are discrepant with expectancies. It also keeps track of and evaluates further stimuli that may be received from external sources, such as "feedback" as to whether responses are satisfactory in the opinion of a teacher or other socially significant person. It evaluates whether the feedback is relevant to a response that has been made, and if so, what further actions should be taken in view of this relevance.

Integrated processing

6 *The integration of cognitive processes.* The processing of a stimulus appears to be an extremely complicated matter, according to the above account; the exact "scenario" for what is happening at any given moment depends upon a large number of conditions including the prior expectancies that have been set up, the nature of the stimulus, and the way it matches or fails to match "templates" that have been previously stored in memory. Yet all these processes are under control of an executive that has available to it a large number of templates for *integrated* processing of sequences of stimuli (for example, the successive sounds of a word or the successive words of an utterance). Presumably, these "integrated" templates have been built up through prior experience, but there is always the possibility that new experiences can modify them. One may say that they are modified when the executive decides to do so. Teaching a foreign language is essentially a matter of arranging matters so that the learner's "executive" will decide to modify the integrated "templates" that will control future responses.

Towards automaticity

Little in the above account denies or overturns the general findings of the older habit-formation psychology; it is mainly a reinterpretation and refinement of those findings. For example, one of the best established findings of the older psychology is that repeated reinforced presentation of a stimulus causes better recognition and greater resistance to forgetting. In cognitive psychology this is interpreted by noting that a stimulus is usually incompletely processed on its first presentation and that further presentations increase the degree and variety of its processing; processing of a stimulus becomes more varied when further experiences present new stimuli with which, for example, it can be compared. Furthermore, the processing of stimuli becomes more automatic and facile when templates for integrating that processing become better organized and more readily available from long-term memory.

Cognitive psychology provides a basis for evaluating issues such as the rôle of conscious awareness or volition in the learning of responses and the role of reinforcement, reward, and feedback. It affirms very definitely that conscious awareness and volition can play a role; it identifies conscious awareness with the role of the executive, and volition with the *sets, expectancies,* and *goals* that the learner may have prior to processing of a stimulus. It would assert that awareness includes *plans* and *procedures* as to how stimuli are going to be processed and how responses are going to be organized. Cognitive psychology interprets *reinforcement* and *feedback* as constituting new stimuli that the executive evaluates as to their relevance to expectancies and goals already present; it would not deny that reinforcement and feedback can, under many circumstances, promote learning, but it would also assert that they are not necessarily critical: that learning (storage in permanent memory) can often occur without such feedback or reinforcement.

The task of learning a foreign language: The "micro" level

Task analysis

A language is a system whereby certain sounds and sequences of sounds are mapped into meanings, and the learner's first task is to become able to interpret the foreign language sounds in terms of that meaning system. This task breaks down into (a) recognizing the sounds and sound sequences; and (b) recognizing the meanings to which the sound sequences correspond. The ultimate goal of this kind of task is to be able to perform such recognitions rapidly, facilely, and accurately. A second kind of task is to become able to produce foreign language sounds and sequences that properly convey the learner's own meanings or intentions. This second task also can be broken down into (a) selecting and formulating the sound sequences that correspond to meanings or intentions; and (b) uttering those sound sequences. Again, the ultimate goal is rapid, facile, and accurate performance. (Throughout this discussion, we focus on speech, but analogous statements can be made about use of a writing system.)

Receptive and productive processes

There are good reasons from cognitive psychology for stressing a sequence that passes from receptive to productive tasks. The utterance of sound sequences (a productive task) is assumed to be based upon templates that have been stored in memory (Posner and Keele, 107); such utterances cannot be produced properly until the underlying templates have been well established. Furthermore, selection of the templates that are appropriate for conveying given meanings must be based upon well-established associations between those templates and their meanings. These associations are best established in receptive phases of learning. Burling (14) proposed FL courses that would stress the attainment of good receptive competence before the teaching of productive skills, and there were indications in Cook's study (41) that such a sequence would be more effective than the usual intermingling of receptive and productive skills at the start of instruction. Postovsky's study (108) seems to provide clear evidence that favors early stress on receptive skills; in this study students of Russian who were not required initially to pronounce Russian sounds and words had, in the end, pronunciation equal to or better than that of students required to speak from the start. The audiolingualists seem to have been right in recommending listening before speaking, but they were never sufficiently confident of their convictions to carry them out fully.

Meaning and situation

Cognitive theory also supports attaching much importance to meaning and situation. While both receptive and productive skills can be broken down into separate consideration of sound patterns *per se* and the meanings that are to be attached to them, from the standpoint of the learner the meaning attachments cannot be long delayed. Recall that upon presentation of a stimulus, the learner may be expected to attempt, almost automatically, to interpret the stimulus in terms of some prior learning. If a sound pattern is presented in the absence of its meaning, the learner can interpret it only in terms of previously learned sound patterns (frequently those of his native language); he has little on which to "hang" whatever associations are elicited by the new sound pattern. A meaning, however, can be referred to appropriate prior learning, even though the meaning may be in some way rather novel.

In addition, it is useful to consider the form in which the meaning is conveyed. Here we have to appeal to some concept of "fullness" of meaning. The general principle would be that a meaning that is richly endowed with concrete situational content is more likely to be learned and attached to the corresponding sound pattern than one that is abstract or endowed with little situational content. Learning language in live communication situations has been recommended by many writers (for example, Gaarder, 51; Imhoof, 63; King, 70; Oller, 94; and Pike, 101) and supported by the findings of psycholinguistic experiments (for example, Oller and Obrecht, 96). A mere picture of a referent carries little meaning; the meaning of a foreign language word given in the learner's native language may be a little better than a picture (Lim, 76), but it is still a *generic meaning* and inadequately endowed with situational meaning (Jarvis and Hatfield, 67). Furthermore, it may be a poor indicator of the true range of meaning covered by the FL term; Francis (50) points out that the FL learner should be presented with fully adequate information in the form of contrasts of meanings in relation to concrete objects and events so that he can work out for himself the ranges of meanings that are to be attached to FL units.

Richness of meaning

The principle of richness of meaning is also illustrated in Asher's (2) notion of the "total physical response," whereby meanings are more readily and easily attached to foreign language materials by requiring learners to "act out" foreign language commands, thus involving not only their internal semantic systems but also their psychomotor systems. Such procedures have been supported by the research of Kalivoda, Morain, and Elkins (68) and of Mear (80). Another device for introducing more "meaning" into teaching is the use of narrations of events in temporal sequence (Oller and Obrecht, 97), since students seem more likely to remember actions and their sequence than mere descriptions (Gomulicki, 53).

Oller (95) is quite correct in pointing out that transformational grammar approaches to language teaching are prone to make the error of asking *how* linguistic units are put together without giving sufficient attention to questions about *what* information is being coded. This remark applies equally well to other formalistic approaches to language teaching and also to the notorious pattern drill when it focuses *only* on sequences of words (Mathieu, 79; Strain, 124) that are not reliably connected with their meanings, even if those meanings can only be generic and abstract. But some meanings are more elusive than others; it is relatively easy to teach meanings of lexical items, but what about the meanings underlying grammatical structures? Is the meaning of these constructions to be found in "deep structure" (Woodsworth, 133) or in some other kind of semantic representation? Carroll (22) has offered a tentative system for conceptualizing some of the meanings underlying grammatical structures.

This brings us to the question of how people learn grammar and the particular form of rule-governed behavior exemplified in the utterance of well-formed sentences (or approximations or fragments thereof). The process is still regarded as more or less a mystery, particularly as it applies in native language acquisition, and certainly we need more theory and data to resolve the problems here. Nevertheless, the general outlines of a theory are at hand. Already cited is Newmark and Reibel's (90) hypothesis that "necessary and sufficient conditions" for language learning occur when "particular, whole instances of language use are modeled" for the learner and the learner's "'particular acts using the language are selectively reinforced." These "acts" are not necessarily speech; they may be any kind of behavior that signals degree of comprehension, such as obeying or failing to obey a request. "Reinforcement" may take the form of smiling, frowning, correction, or any one of a large number of social consequences. All this fits into the cognitive-psychology interpretation that has been given earlier: The learner starts with certain perceptions and expectancies regarding the total situation in which an utterance occurs. Partly on the basis of past experiences (templates stored in long-term memory) and partly on the basis of his perceptions of the current situation, he interprets an utterance in a particular way or formulates an utterance in a particular way, depending on whether he is listening or speaking. The templates he uses may be incomplete or inadequate—they may constitute a kind of "interlanguage" that only approximates the target language (Nemser, 89; Selinker, 114, 115), and in this case the learner often has an opportunity to note the discrepancy between his response and the response that he "should" have made. This opportunity may not occur immediately, and even if it does, it may take more time or a greater variety of instances before the learner is able to reorganize his memory templates in such a

Necessary and sufficient conditions for learning

way that he can respond "acceptably"—according to the target linguistic system.

What we have been describing is the "natural" learning of a language system—by a child learning his native language or by a foreign language learner placed in a foreign language environment. It would account for the fact that a learner of German who has already learned expressions of the form "*Es ist warm*" and "*Wir werden gehen*" can eventually learn to alter word orders in conditional sentences such as "*Wenn es warm ist, werden wir gehen.*" This seemingly innate tendency to arrive at internalized rules seems to be what many writers describe as induction, inferencing, or creative learning (Carton, 29; Dulay and Burt, 47; Reid, 111; Titone, 126).

Formal instruction

Suppose, however, the learner is in a formal instructional environment, such as a foreign language classroom. There is no reason why some reasonable simulation of a naturalistic environment cannot be created in the classroom. Conversations about the weather, going on picnics, and the like could indeed provide a concentrated dose of speech models that would permit learning of such things as conditional constructions (provided the situation is constructed so as to endow them with meaning). Often, however, the formal instructional environment offers the student rules and explanations for guiding his learning of grammar; some instructional environments place great emphasis on such rules. There has been much interest in psychological and educational research in whether these rules help or hinder the student, whether they should precede or follow practice, and similar questions. Results of such research have been conflicting. To cite only one or two recent examples: Politzer's (104) results suggest that rules are beneficial if they precede or accompany pattern drills (rather than following them); Sjöberg and Tropé (116) obtained a similar result on immediate testing but found no difference between experimental and control groups on a three-week retention test. One could also mention the numerous studies (previously cited) comparing audiolingual and cognitive approaches as possibly relevant to issues concerning the role of grammatical explanations. On the basis of cognitive theory we would predict that rules, properly presented, would indeed enhance initial learning, for they would help the learner organize both his perceptions of speech models and the so-called templates on which he could base trial utterances. For example, telling a student to transpose verb and predicate in German conditional sentences could facilitate his understanding and production of such sentences during phases of learning in which he practices understanding and production. But the effect of such rules and explanations depends on whether the rules themselves are adequately formulated, whether the learner is able to understand a rule and its connection to the examples that may be given, and whether the student can indeed apply the rules in actual language performance in view of the short time in which to do so. Lawler and Selinker (74) comment on what they call "Saporta's paradox"—the possibility that knowledge of a rule may actually inhibit its use in performance, in conflict with the apparent requirement that one must know a rule in order to perform. They also postulate that learners may have inherent differences in the way they are able to understand and handle rules. One can agree with their observation that Saporta's paradox can be reformulated in such a way that it is no longer a paradox; learning a formally stated rule is only one factor that may influence the organization of the learner's memory templates. Eventual internalization of a rule depends more on the variety of instances that the learner is exposed to and the opportunities he has to practice it. Essentially "Saporta's paradox" stems from a confusion between a formally stated rule and the "habit" or response tendency that rule purports to describe.

Problems of instructional sequence

Content sequence

FL courses are customarily organized around a definite sequence of instructional content, though textbooks vary widely in what elements of content they choose to introduce at various points. The assumption is widely held that this type of content organization is efficient and indeed necessary. This assumption has been questioned, however, both in theoretical arguments (Reibel, 110) and empirical investigations (Upshur, 127). Yet neither the theoretical arguments nor the empirical investigations are sufficiently well supported to persuade one either that at no point is it necessary to select particular content for instructional attention or that if particular content *is* selected for such attention, it makes no difference what sequence is employed. There is little, if any, evidence as to what kind of progress students would make in a totally unstructured course—

where students are merely exposed to large amounts of speech in the hope that their native capacity to acquire language would enable them eventually to attain mastery. Yet one is continually reminded that this is the way children appear to learn their native language. One can agree that the mechanisms of first-language learning in children and second-language learning in more mature people are essentially similar, but one can also ask whether a totally unstructured instructional procedure would be as efficient in its use of time as a course with some degree of structure and with particular content selected for instructional attention at different points. Reibel's theoretical analysis does not consider this point, nor does it consider the possibility that texts can be ordered in terms of difficulty by relatively simple techniques such as the "cloze technique."

Two streams of instruction

Two somewhat conflicting demands arise from a consideration of language learning processes: Second-language learners appear to be helped by guidance and explanations with respect to particular aspects of instructional content. Some learners, at least, seem to need to have the instructional content develop "logically" so that new learnings can build on prior learnings. (Even in first-language acquisition, there is clear evidence that the child's "grammar" develops in logical stages from the simple to the complex and that the child receives a kind of specific tutelage from his mother and his peers, even if only in the sense that mother and peer speech is simpler than normal adult speech.) However, normal speech contains an unpredictably large variety of content (vocabulary, grammatical constructions), and selection and sequencing of instructional content may never capture this full richness and variety. In the context of teaching reading to young children Carroll (18) has made a proposal that attempts to meet these two demands simultaneously, and we can make an analogous proposal for second-language teaching: A program of instruction should contain two parallel streams, one devoted to exposing the learner to materials containing a relatively uncontrolled variety of linguistic elements (for example, vocabulary and grammatical constructions) and the other devoted to a rather carefully developed sequence of instructional content. The two streams would presumably have interactive effects, in the sense that the second stream would give the learner the specific guidance that would help him in his efforts to master the materials of the first stream.

Problems of memory and forgetting

Memory and forgetting

Because of the limited capacity of short-term memory, and for that matter, of intermediate memory, the learner can focus his attention on only a relatively limited range of instructional content at any one time. Lado (72) has pointed out that foreign language sentences presented for modeling must initially be quite short, though there are certainly ways in which learners could be induced to learn longer sentences. In producing sentences according to consciously formulated grammatical rules, the learner can be expected to remember only a few of these rules, at least at the start.

Facts about memory

There are several reasonably well-confirmed facts about the establishment and maintenance of memories:

1 "Rehearsal," the conscious reinstatement of memorial material (for example, repeating an item to oneself), is an effective means of transferring that material from short-term memory to intermediate- and long-term memory.

2 Connections between elements in memory (for example, sounds and their meanings) can be established and strengthened by searching for natural or artificial associations between them (Henning, 58; Ott et al., 99) (for example, in associating the meaning "big" with the Russian word *krupniy* a student could establish a temporary association "croup knee" which would suggest "big").

3 Memories are maintained and strengthened in long-term memory through repeated reinstatement or practice in varied contexts.

4 Memories apparently lost are more easily learned with each new attempt.

5 Prompting is usually necessary in the early stages of learning, but at later stages learning is more effective if prompting is withheld and the student is required to make an active attempt to make his response without such prompting.

6 Memories are strengthened when the learner is aware that his response is correct or is informed (as soon as possible) that it is correct. If the response is incorrect, the learner

must be informed as soon as possible and should be given an opportunity, on a new occasion shortly thereafter, to attempt a correct response. There should be a short delay so that the new response will not be based simply on short-term memory. (A frequent problem in the foreign language classroom is how often the student's errors should be corrected. This depends largely on the student's tolerance for having errors corrected; in any case, it is important to make sure that the student knows why his response is incorrect, and if possible, why he made the error and how he can avoid making it in the future.)

Transfer

Transfer and contrastive analysis

The theory underlying contrastive linguistics is that the learner of a second language will be influenced by the habits he has acquired in his native language. There is no doubt that transfer such as this often occurs, but it is sometimes forgotten that this transfer can be positive (beneficial) as well as negative (Jakobovits, 66; Politzer, 103). Transfer can be expected on the basis of the fact that in the absence of learnings to the contrary, the individual will automatically attempt to interpret a stimulus on the basis of previously acquired memories. However, contrastive studies will not always of themselves afford a prediction of the learner's difficulties (Brière, 9; Buteau, 15; Nickel, 93). Negative transfer effects can be avoided by early preventative measures—in particular, by carefully pointing out to the learner the nature of the contrast and the circumstances in which native language habits are likely to interfere. In the teaching of foreign language phonology, learning is apparently helped by training in articulatory phonetics (Catford and Pisoni, 30), which is another way of saying that one should help the learner form the motor templates that are the basis of phonological skills.

Summary and recommendations

For classroom teachers

For the teacher

Classroom teachers are already beset with many problems, and the least of their worries should be the intricacies of the theory of learning. For them the main message of this chapter should be: A commonsense approach to learning and teaching is best. This commonsense approach includes, for example, knowing objectives and keeping track of student progress in meeting them, allowing students time and opportunity to learn in the light of their individual learning rates and learning styles, motivating students to spend the requisite time on learning, and trying to offer them instruction of the highest possible quality. High-quality instruction includes: setting up pleasant and interesting learning conditions in which students feel they are making progress towards their goals and having their efforts rewarded, making the instruction as meaningful as possible by making the foreign language come alive in meaningful communication situations, making sure students understand what they are to learn, trying to predict the effect of instructional presentations on students' minds, intellectualizing foreign language learning tasks in early stages by providing explanations of material to be learned (to the extent that the intellectual maturity of a student permits this), and providing ample and varied opportunities to practice and perfect what has been learned.

For the learner

For foreign language learners

It will help learners to know that:

1 With suitable effort and application, a foreign language can be learned by almost anyone, even though some will learn faster than others. Attention, effort, and application produce learning regardless of degree or source of motivation.

2 It is important whenever possible to remember the meanings conveyed by the foreign language and to think of these meanings while practicing.

3 It is important to try to understand any explanations that are given about the foreign language and the way it is put together and to remember these explanations while trying to learn. It is also useful for the student to try to work out these explanations for himself on the basis of samples of the language and their meanings.

4 Ways of pronouncing and expressing meaning may be quite different from those of the student's native language; the student should try to put himself in the place of a

speaker of the foreign language, and think and speak like that person.

5 In learning new material, it may help to create arbitrary associations or "mnemonic aids," at least on a temporary basis, that will provide cues to later recall.

6 The student should try to remember previously learned material with a minimum of reference to cues and prompts, such as translations of words. If something appears to have been forgotten, it should be relearned; such relearning will become easier as time goes on.

7 The use of the language should be practiced in varied meaningful contexts; continued practice of this sort will make the language seem habitual.

For preparers of instructional materials

For writers of instructional material

Writers of textbooks, drill materials, and the like should bear the following hints in mind:

1 Explain to the student what he is to learn and how it fits in with or relates to what he already knows. Make a clear distinction between what is obligatory to learn and what is optional to learn at any given point.

2 Provide descriptions and analyses of *how* the foreign language is put together, at the same time avoiding explanations of *why* the language is so put together. Try to prepare the student's mind for what he is about to learn. Adjust the difficulty of these descriptions and analyses to the learner's level of understanding. When drills and practices are included, precede them with instructions as to what kinds of performances are to be attained through them. Provide means by which the student can readily assess and evaluate his progress.

3 Prescribe learning sequences in which there is a maximal amount of reference to meaning and situation. While it may be necessary to discuss certain aspects of language without reference to meaning, follow this promptly with learning units that include the meanings involved.

4 Do not worry about the exact sequence in which instructional material is selected and presented, as long as there is careful account taken of what the student is presumed to know at any given point. New material must fit in with and enhance the learning and memory of old material.

5 In presenting new materials, emphasize similarities and contrasts of forms and meanings, with an ample supply of examples and illustrations so that the student can work out the application of concepts and rules for himself.

6 Make provision for frequent reviews of material already presented or build reviews into the presentation of new material. Provide varied meaningful contexts in which materials can be practiced and reviewed.

7 Parallel to the controlled introduction and careful exposition of new materials, provide a rich and varied selection of materials (with relatively little control of vocabulary and grammatical difficulty) on which the student will be encouraged to try his skill. Emphasize that complete understanding or learning of this latter material is not expected but that the student should strive for as much comprehension as possible, merely to practice and apply what is being learned in the more controlled sequence of instruction.

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6

Tailoring language instruction to student needs

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The decade of the student

The decade of the 1970s might well be called the decade of the student in education. In his keynote address at the 1973 ACTFL Annual Meeting in Boston, Frymier (38) presented the view that the school of tomorrow will rely to a greater extent than ever before on the individual student as an important source of data both for the designing of curricula and for the selection and implementation of instructional strategies. Previously primary consideration has been given to the needs of society or to the nature of the disciplines of knowledge. While the needs of the individual were often alluded to in statements of purpose or philosophy, the schools were chiefly concerned with turning students into "good citizens" or "mini-scholars" or "vessels for the transmission of general culture" rather than with fostering their personal growth as individuals. This situation is changing; uniformity and standardization are giving way to flexibility and diversity; the needs of students are at last being given preeminence in the determination of curricular offerings and instructional procedures. The school of the future is now.

The changing curriculum

Today's multiform curriculum with its varied content and its flexible framework reflects concern for the needs and interests of a highly heterogeneous student population, and there are doubtless certain types of scheduling, curricular designs, and course offerings that are more compatible with the goal of student-centered education than are others. However, student needs will be met only in part unless they are also met in the

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Meeting student needs

interactive phase of the instructional process. This interactive phase, composed of the day-to-day and moment-to-moment interaction of teacher, students, and materials, is the major concern of this chapter.

From language-centered to student-centered language instruction

Language-centered instruction

Like a microcosm of the total curriculum, foreign language instruction has tended to embody and reflect the dominant educational doctrine of a given era. The decade of the 1960s was discipline-centered; during that decade foreign language education was language-centered. Linguistic science was revered, and the audiolingual method was touted as the "correct" way to teach languages. Procedures were standardized, and goals were uniform. In the ideal program, content was carefully sequenced, and courses were precisely articulated. If the learner failed to perform well under this flawless system of instruction, it was deemed his fault and not the fault of the method. Indeed, the foreign language student of the 1960s was often ignored except at those times when it was necessary to decide whether he was capable of progressing from one level to the next.

The less compliant student of the 1970s, often referred to as the "new" student or the "now" student, refuses to be ignored. Contrasting the students of the previous decade with the present student population, Rivers (84) has observed:

Student-centered instruction

> in the early sixties . . . with a more docile population, it seemed possible to subordinate the individual to the efficient system for his own good, as seen by his teachers; now the efficient system must be subordinated to individual learning preferences if there is to be a high quality of learning. This is a period of plurality of objectives and diversity of learning approaches . . . (p. 6).

Individual differences

Each student in every class is unique experientially, and most are unique genetically. Now, after a decade that focused on the elements that constitute a language, teachers are beginning to discover and to take into account what boys and girls and men and women are made of. Dykstra and Nunes (30) point out that individuals differ

> . . . in scholastic aptitude, intelligence, or ability; in socioeconomic background; in interests; in ability to communicate and in meanings they attach to words and behaviors and things; in attendance and absence from class sessions; in energy and need for rest; in styles and rates of learning and levels at which learning plateaus are reached; in educational needs; in physical needs, including hunger, hurt and moods; in needs for indications of success or approval; in needs for supervision; in needs for peer association and indications of peer acceptance; in needs for educational guidance and advice; in needs for participating in decisions affecting their own activities; and so on, *ad infinitum* (p. 283).

While this is perhaps the most complete enumeration of individual differences to appear in the literature, references to the needs and interests of students abound.

Reaching every student

If foreign languages are to reach more than a highly motivated elite, teachers must provide for a variety of needs and interests. Grittner (41) chides the profession for treating every beginning student as an incipient language major, and Ziegler (102) points out that few of today's students are "professionals" —students who have accepted one of the three traditional reasons for studying foreign languages: educational, vocational, and personal usefulness. All the rest are "amateurs"—more oriented toward life skills than tool skills. The teacher, a former "professional," must attempt to meet the needs and motivational drives of these nonspecialist language students in the student-centered school of the 1970s.

Focus on the learner

A recurrent theme in statements of both theoreticians and practitioners is that no one method of teaching, no matter how efficient, can possibly meet the needs of such a disparate student population. The focus should no longer be on teaching method but on learning style (Jakobovits, 50; Rivers, 84; H. Stern, 93). Oller and Richards (74) see the learner and his capacities as the crucial variables in second-language teaching, and Kennedy (57) contends that "in the final analysis we can never completely control what the learner does, for *he* selects and organizes, whatever the input" (p. 76). We cannot, for example, prevent the student from translating from the foreign to the native language even if we believe this practice to be detrimental. In support of honoring individual learning styles and strategies, Grittner and LaLeike (43) cite the example of students who have become quite proficient orally even though, by choice, they have strongly emphasized listening practice to the near exclusion of speaking practice in every laboratory drill situation.

The learning styles, needs, and interests of individuals have often in the past been neither acknowledged nor honored by proponents of a method of instruction which was chiefly language centered. Increasingly, however, the language teaching profession seems to be characterized by people who would agree with Kennedy (57) that "a method of *teaching* foreign languages, to be successful, must first of all not hinder language learning" (pp. 77–78).

Learning versus teaching

The role of the teacher in student-centered instruction

The changing role of the teacher in the learner-centered classroom is reflected in the title of this chapter. Like the tailor, the teacher must use his craftsmanship, his knowledge, and his ingenuity to adapt material to a particular client or clientele. That his role is an active one is implied by the present participle "tailoring." Material must be selected for colors, texture, and weight; cut according to the measurements of the client; and fashioned into a garment according to what the tailor knows of his craft. Furthermore, if the garment is found to be unsatisfactory, alterations are made until both the tailor and his customer are satisfied. This analogy would seem to imply at least two important responsibilities of the language teacher: determining the individual needs and characteristics of the student and designing learning experiences to meet those needs.

An active role

Responsibilities of the teacher

The role of the teacher: Determining student needs and characteristics

Grittner and LaLeike (43) list as student factors that teachers cannot afford to ignore: age, aptitude, aspirations and needs, motivation, native language, socioeconomic status, and previous language experience. The importance of identifying these characteristics as soon as possible is stressed by Bolvin (15), who maintains that "without careful assessment of initial learning characteristics carrying out the educational pro-

Early detection

cedure is a presumption. It is like prescribing medication without first describing the symptoms" (p. 25).

Diagnostic tools

Aptitude, creativity, attitude

Learner characteristics such as sex, approximate age, and socioeconomic status are usually fairly obvious, and school records may supply other pertinent information. It is unlikely, however, that an adequate diagnosis of student needs can be performed without diagnostic tools such as aptitude, intelligence, and creativity tests; attitudinal scales; personality profiles; and interest inventories. In the selection of such tools the teacher will no doubt want to give priority to measures of those traits that research studies have linked to the performance of students as language learners. In separate investigations Chastain (24), Jarvis (51), and Joiner (55) found that low-aptitude students tend to benefit from a large amount of controlled language practice. Highly creative students, however, in Joiner's study performed extremely poorly when placed in classes in which their oral expression was noncommunicative and largely teacher controlled. After numerous studies Gardner and Lambert (39) have concluded that attitude and motivation play a very important role in second-language learning.

Needs versus interests

Lafayette (61) points out that interests and needs are not necessarily identical and underscores the responsibility of the teacher to determine needs. Because of their close link with motivation, however, interests should not be ignored. Results of a questionnaire distributed in two school systems of Erie County, New York, made teachers aware not only of the language goal most commonly mentioned by students–in this case oral communication–but also of the varied personal goals of individual students (Papalia, 75).

An ongoing process

As the language learner in his course of study is confronted with many different kinds of tasks, the determination of needs and interests should be an ongoing process rather than merely the first step in a linear progression. Indeed, observation of the learner as he learns is an essential characteristic of the teacher's role in tailoring instruction to student needs. H. Stern (93) suggests a number of questions the teacher might use in this task: "What does the learner find hard? What does he find easy? What confuses him? What puzzles him? What helps him? What causes his success or failure? How does he learn? What does he find funny, or exciting, or boring?" (p. 26).

A particular technique for eliciting such information from students was proposed by Jarvis and Hosenfeld (53) at the 1973 ACTFL Meeting in Boston. This procedure, called "thinking aloud," is based upon students' self-observation and self-reporting of the strategies and steps they utilize while learning. Sample interviews in which "thinking aloud" was used as a diagnostic tool revealed that in many cases what teachers think students do and what they actually do are not at all the same. The researchers also found this technique helpful in discovering individual differences in both cognitive and affective learning.

"Thinking aloud"

Bouma (16) suggests using a translation exercise to determine the student's deficiencies in language learning. In preparing the exercise, the student leaves a blank space for every word he is not absolutely certain of and indicates by means of a question mark any word order of which he is unsure. Blank spaces in the first attempt display to him and to his instructor exactly how much of the grammar he has not completely mastered. The results of a second attempt, in which he is allowed to use study aids such as glossaries, notes, and grammatical explanations, should pinpoint precisely those areas in which the student needs help from the instructor. This diagnostic tool differs from that of Jarvis and Hosenfeld in that the student's outward production is used rather than an account of his inward operations to determine sources of difficulty. Using the errors as a starting point, the instructor must attempt to decide why they occurred.

Examining the product

The role of the teacher: Beyond diagnosis

The teacher must use the information obtained through various diagnostic techniques to tailor instruction to the needs of his students. Removing the teacher from the center of the stage does not guarantee that learning will take place, nor does permitting the student to "do his own thing" ensure that he will learn efficiently (Disick, 28). Atkinson (5) reports that experiments with learner-controlled instruction indicate that the learner is not a particularly effective decision-maker. This is perhaps because he lacks knowledge of the nature of the skill to be learned, one of the essential requirements for instruction according to Jarvis (52). The instructor should bring this

What the learner lacks

knowledge as well as his knowledge of the learner to the learning situation.

Independence from the "experts"

Teachers of foreign languages have traditionally relied upon the fields of psychology and linguistics for an explanation of language learning; however, cautionary remarks regarding slavish reliance upon "experts" have come both from within the field (Bockman and Gougher, 14) and without (Chomsky, 25). H. Stern (93) emphasizes strongly that theory must be verified by on-the-spot observation of particular students, and Heien (48) counsels experimentation with many techniques. He proposes a kind of small-scale action research in which, with his own students, the teacher tests a number of possible approaches to a single problem.

A motivator of needs

Grittner (42) sees the role of the teacher in the student-centered program as that of a motivator as well as an instructor. According to him, the teacher should not pander to students' transitory needs and desires but should attempt to inspire them to want to learn something that is worthwhile. This is a subtle, but important, distinction.

The need for instruction

A student-centered approach may remove the teacher from the center of the stage, but his role is much more than that of a passive onlooker at the drama of learning. Tailoring instruction to student needs involves determining needs and characteristics, diagnosing learning problems, experimenting with numerous and varied instructional techniques, and motivating the student to want to learn. One of the student's needs, Steiner (91) reminds us, is the need for instruction. Consequently, any teacher who abdicates his active role of instructing is doing his students a serious disservice.

Meeting needs through innovative programs

Theory versus practice

Individualized instruction and minicourse curricula are frequently credited with providing for the needs of students. The next two sections of this chapter are devoted to examining these claims, to determining whether what is assumed in theory proves to be true in actual practice. Emphasis will be less on the curricular framework itself than on the day-to-day activities that might take place within this framework.

Individualization: Changing to meet needs

Individualizing instruction would appear to offer the means *par excellence* of meeting students' needs. By definition individualization requires that instruction be adapted to the needs, interests, and capabilities of individual students. Ideally, it is dynamic, flexible, adaptable, and chameleon-like; it can assume a variety of characteristics according to the circumstances out of which it emerges. The fact that individualizing instruction is an on-going and highly idiosyncratic phenomenon has been repeatedly emphasized by Bockman and Gougher (11, 12, 13).

Characteristics of individualization

Because individualization exists in many forms, one should be widely read on this topic. Several individualized programs are described in *Options and Perspectives* (Love and Honig, 63), and numerous books and articles with a "how-to" approach have appeared in 1973 and early 1974. Grittner and LaLeike's (43) step-by-step guide to individualized learning is noteworthy for its realistic approach. In every case both ideal and minimal situations and procedures are delineated. Very practical articles by Fisher (34) and Hop (49) treat in detail such essential topics as record-keeping, use of facilities, management of time, and preparation of materials; Disick's "Inside an Individualized Classroom" (29) captures the moment-to-moment atmosphere of individualized instruction.

Already a reality

Three criticisms that have been leveled at certain individualized programs are that they lack structure (Grittner and LaLeike, 43); they do not promote social interaction (Bockman and Bockman, 10; Disick, 28; Rivers, 84); and they are based solely on self-pacing, which implies one set of performance objectives and one set of materials for all students. Steiner (91), revisiting instruction after a period of years, views the future optimistically even though there are still problems of individualization that remain unsolved. She believes that a really good individualized program will ultimately vary rate, objectives, content, and mastery level and that a movement in this direction is already beginning to emerge.

Criticisms of individualization

One example of progress away from one-dimensional individualization is found in a college-level intermediate course designed by A. N. Smith (87)). Over a period of two years the course was gradually individualized in terms of rate and mode

Toward multidimensional individualization

of learning. The content of the course is now being individualized by allowing students to choose from a variety of reading materials including excerpts from plays, interviews with celebrities, and lyrics from popular songs. Everett (32) reports on what he terms renovation of past innovation. The progressive increase in sophistication and complexity of such programs reflects a commitment to meeting multiple needs and illustrates the definition of individualization as "an expanding process of fan-shaped movement away from a rigid methodology with rigid goals . . . toward many alternatives with *different*, yet *set*, goals" (Bockman and Gougher, 11, p. 528).

Individualization:
Meeting needs through variety

Not a rigid methodology with rigid goals, individualization implies alternative approaches and a variety of techniques and materials. Differentiated staffing, grouping patterns of various kinds, multiple mechanical resources, and flexible physical facilities can also help meet the needs of a heterogeneous student population.

Differentiated staffing

Grittner and LaLeike (43) point out that differentiated staffing increases the possibility that each student will find some staff member to whom he can relate. Moreover, when staff members include native speakers, the language and culture of the foreign country are brought into the classroom in a very real living way (Gilman, 40). Students are permitted to hear various voices and accents and to encounter multiple impressions of the foreign culture. The use of student aides, who are more numerous than natives, seems to be increasing. While the chief benefit of employing such personnel might appear to accrue to the teacher whose work is thereby lightened, several writers emphasize the affective and cognitive gains made both by the student tutor and by the student who is tutored (Cameron-Bacon, 20; Dykstra and Nunes, 30; Knop, 59).

Just as some students respond better to one staff member than another, certain students apparently learn better individually, others in small groups, and still others in large groups. Most individualized programs employ a combination of group and individual work.

Small-group work

The smallest of small groups is the pair, a grouping pattern that is frequently mentioned in the literature of individualization. Working in pairs is especially suited to practicing stimulus-response drills, question-answer exercises, and dialogues (Freilich, 36). Larger small groups may be organized for various reasons and with various combinations of students. Papalia and Zampogna (76) suggest grouping for interest, tutorial, remedial, enrichment, and discursive purposes. While grouping according to ability offers certain obvious advantages, one should not overlook the benefits of a heterogeneity of ability within the small group. These include greater linguistic resources (Macnamara, 66) and opportunities for peer-teaching on a small scale. Because the small group has been shown to be effective in promoting social interaction, it is often used to encourage students to use the language for conversational purposes (Disick, 28; Foreman, 35; Steiner, 91).

Large versus small groups

While Papalia et al. (77) and Steiner (91) believe that students may benefit from the general discussion made possible by a large group, Grittner and LaLeike (43) contend that "from the standpoint of student learning, there is nothing that can be done in a large group that cannot be done better in a small-group or individualized learning situation" (p. 2).

A variety of physical facilities

As groups and individuals engage in activities of various kinds, needs for numerous types of physical facilities arise. Because these needs may vary almost from moment to moment, flexibility is crucial. Curtains, movable screens and chalkboards, and permanently installed room dividers can transform the traditional classroom into minirooms that may change several times during a class period (Grittner and LaLeike, 43). Flexibility can also be achieved by "expanding" the classroom to include such areas as the library, a nearby classroom, or the language laboratory (Fisher, 34). Equipment, too, should be adaptable to student needs. Ideally the language laboratory, for example, should contain record players, open-reel tape players, tape recorders, cassette players and cassette recorders (Grittner and LaLeike, 43).

Individualization: Interaction with a LAP

Variously referred to as unipacs, LAPs, and self-study guides, packets designed to guide the student through a unit of work with little or no help from adult staff members are generally, though not always, at the heart of a program of individualization. The names for these packets are no more diverse than the packets themselves as they vary greatly in length, bulk, purpose, flexibility, originality, and appeal. Both teacher-prepared and commercially available packets, however, usually follow a format similar to the one outlined by Rosenthal (85).

The heart of the matter

The packet is typically based upon one idea or concept, either cultural or grammatical, and contains one set of objectives. In a tailor-made program the student's interests and needs determine what kind and how many of the packets he completes; yet this procedure alone provides only for varying time and objectives. One must look inside the learning packet to see if the student has been given a choice in materials and in mode of learning.

Inside the learning packet

While it would be impossible to custom-design a packet for each individual in a class, offering numerous alternatives from which the student can select is one way of meeting needs. J. E. Smith (89) proposes the following characteristics for an ideal learning packet:

An ideal learning packet

1 Multimedia—the use of various kinds of audio-visual equipment and the performance of sensory-oriented tasks
2 Multimode—variations in process goals that determine the size of the learning group and methodology (i.e., large-group instruction, small-group instruction, individual work)
3 Multicontent—differing levels of sophistication or differences in all resource material, whether printed or audio-visual
4 Multiactivities—variation in terms of paper-and-pencil activities, such as listening, viewing, participating in academic games and simulations, manipulating, etc. (p. 16).

Multiplicity is not synonymous with diversity. The fact that three or more activities are provided as a means of reaching one objective does not guarantee that the student has been presented with optional approaches from which he can choose the one most compatible with his learning style.

Because language is a social and cultural phenomenon, opportunities for social interaction and cultural enrichment should be built into packets designed for foreign language study. When properly implemented, packets should provide "for discussion, for skits, for group work, for activities that bring the students into close contact with the teacher and also with each other" (Disick, 28, p. 249). Cultural notes may, of course, be included in packets designed primarily for grammatical study; however, a more systematic examination of the foreign culture can be fostered through the use of programmed cultural assimilators (Bals, 6) or of "cultapaks." Lafayette (60) suggests that the "cultapak" materials might be prepared in English for weaker students and in the target language for those students who wish to increase their language skill as they augment their cultural knowledge.

Social interaction

Cultural enrichment

McCombs, Eschenbrenner, and O'Neil (68) point out that affective considerations should not be ignored by the designers of self-instructional materials. One cannot assume that a satisfactory score on a mastery test is evidence of the student's interest in the subject matter or of his willingness to pursue the subject further. It would seem wise, then, to elicit the affective reactions of students to the packets and to incorporate these suggestions in future revisions. Informal observation of the students as they work with packets can also yield important information. Grittner and LaLeike (43), for example, report that "for many students the first inquiry into the nature or content of a unipac consists of the simple act of holding it in the palm of the hand and weighing it" (p. 48). This seems to indicate that the length of the packet is a major consideration for some students at least.

Affective considerations

Teachers interested in creating packets for individualized instruction will find numerous formats, including a simple single-page learning model, described in *Educational Technology* (31). In approaching this task one must remember that a learning packet is a form of communication between teacher and student. When written, it will do only that which the writer allows it to do—no more and no less (J. Smith, 89, p. 17).

Formats for packets

Meeting needs through special courses:
Inside a minicourse

"Conversational Spanish for Law Enforcement Officers," "The Press of Spain and Latin America," "Reading for Information," "Classical Myths in Today's World," "Introduction to Scientific German," "English for 'Old' Canadians"—these are among the courses offered in today's minicourse or quinmester

A kaleidoscope of courses

curriculum. The courses are usually brief–ranging from several weeks to one semester–and are designed to meet the needs and interests of specific groups of students. Courses permit the student to develop a specific skill, to fulfill a particular career need, or to pursue a personal interest. Indeed, the diversity and specificity of such offerings would seem almost to ensure that each individual would find a tailor-made course.

While providing the student with many options in the form of curricular offerings is certainly to be applauded, to assume that thereby we meet his needs would be erroneous. If all students in the special-purpose course are obliged to cover the same material in the same length of time and in the same way, individual differences are not being provided for. The skillful designer of a course plan will include affective as well as cognitive and psychomotor goals and will provide for variety and flexibility as well as specificity of purpose.

Courses for travelers

Some of the many excellent minicourses in existence are discussed by Papalia and Zampogna in another chapter of this volume. Here we examine in detail a particular kind of minicourse to determine its potential for meeting needs. "French for Travelers–Spanish for Travelers: Nonsequential Semester Courses in the Foreign Language Area," developed for Prince George's County, Maryland (37), has been selected because courses for travelers are frequently offered by high schools, colleges, and centers for continuing education; this particular course represents an exemplary effort to provide for needs within the minicourse format.

Useful phrases

As are most minicourses for travelers, this course is built around certain phrases that would be useful to the tourist in a foreign country. These are grouped into categories such as dining, accommodations, and sports. Such an approach is commendable but not remarkable. What is remarkable, however, is the determination by the course designers of how well and in what way these phrases must be learned. Oral objectives are differentiated according to the estimated frequency of need for such expressions. Additionally, some phrases are taught for active control, others for listening comprehension alone, and still others solely for reading recognition. To illustrate, within the category "traveling around, sight-seeing, and money matters," the students would be encouraged to learn for active control phrases such as "Where is . . . ?" and "I want to cash a check."

Understanding and recognition

Phrases to be learned for understanding and recognition only would include "Turn to the right, then to the left" and "Sign your check, please." Plane and train schedules and signs such as "No Smoking," "Reserved," and "Private Beach" would be taught for reading recognition alone.

Built-in individualization

Not only are the objectives of the course differentiated by language skill according to practical needs, but they are also flexible enough to be adjusted to individual differences. If after much practice the student is unable to meet the objective of active oral control, the objective is changed to "understanding when heard" or "recognition in print," whichever can be achieved. The principle of individualized learning is thus built into the curriculum guide. The use of learning activity packets for individual culture study, the use of independent study contracts, and the use of small-group work on topics of interest are also advocated in order that individual needs and interests can be provided for.

A pragmatic approach

The suggested methodology for the course stresses the pragmatic. Questions used to motivate the course content include: "You are on a plane, about to land in Paris. What do you need to know?" and "You are in a restaurant in Mexico City. What are some Spanish expressions or words that would be useful?" Phrases and expressions are learned as "formulas," with little or no grammatical analysis; comprehensibility, not phonetic accuracy, is the criterion for the oral objectives. Indeed, the only "phonetic" analysis included in the course consists of an examination of transcriptions generally used in phrase books for travelers. Each word or phrase is presented in a multisensory fashion involving both visual and auditory stimuli and is employed in a variety of contexts. In keeping with the pragmatic approach of the course, the text is a popularly used phrasebook, and classroom activities frequently include simulation and role-playing.

Cultural objectives

One of the often forgotten needs of the American traveling abroad is the need for cultural understanding; therefore, the designers of this course include cultural as well as linguistic objectives. To make the culture real, students are encouraged to correspond with pen pals and are provided with other "laboratory experiences" such as field trips to local places, such as restaurants and markets, that represent the culture being studied. Suggestions are also given for integrating cultural and linguistic units. A discussion of food preparation and regional dishes might, for example, accompany a unit on phrases useful in dining out.

Bringing the document to life

The designers of the course stress a student-centered approach with frequent teacher-pupil planning. Indeed, they seem to have neglected nothing. However, while a guide for a course may be exemplary, only the classroom teacher can translate this design into the kind of student-centered, project-oriented course envisioned by the planners. He must bring the written document to life to see that the needs of individual students are met in the day-to-day activities of the special-purpose course. Thus, the planners of overall curricular programs, the designers of specific courses, and the teachers of individual classes must participate in a combined effort to tailor language instruction to student needs.

Meeting needs in the traditional classroom

A challenging question

While neither an individualized program nor a minicourse curriculum necessarily guarantees that all students' needs will be met, both frameworks are probably more compatible with the aim of meeting student needs than is the more traditional lock-step system. In the 1974 Northeast Conference Reports Papalia et al. (77) raise a question, which is no doubt being posed almost daily by a large segment of the language teaching profession: "How can a teacher devise enough curricular alternatives tailored to the needs and interests of the students in a typical classroom with twenty-five to thirty students?" (p. 87).

Answering the question

A review of the professional literature reveals at least three common approaches to answering this question. Many features typically associated with more innovative programs are being included as components of courses that remain for the most part traditional; teachers are becoming more eclectic and experimental in approach; and much more attention is being given to meeting the psychological, social, and emotional needs of students as well as their scholastic needs.

Varying the sameness

The typical classroom

A classroom must be taken for what it is: a situation in which twenty to thirty youthful human beings face in the same direction with one adult facing them. Thus they must remain

> for an hour or for a day, with their attention and behavior under the guidance and control of that adult. They are surrounded by windows and blackboards, desks and chairs. From time to time bells ring and activities and places change; then the slow advance is resumed in a slightly modified deployment. Whatever variants of this pattern may be found serve only to emphasize its basic sameness (Brooks, 17, p. 48).

This characterization of the typical classroom made by Brooks in the early 1960s seems to imply that variations of the basic pattern do not represent genuine changes; yet a survey of schools in the 1970s reveals that the traditional course is at times transformed into an individualized program or a minicourse for a period of days or weeks. At the end of this period the class once again undergoes a metamorphosis and becomes the typical classroom described by Brooks.

Periods of metamorphosis

Perhaps the inclusion of minicourses in the traditional program constitutes the most frequent departure from the usual format because it represents a less drastic change for both teacher and students than individualization. Minicourses may provide a refreshing break in routine and offer the student attainable short-range goals; yet they do not typically present individual options in content, pacing, or mode of learning. As such, they may represent a miniature version of the "same old thing," though this is certainly not always the case.

Minicourses

An interesting minicourse, although not officially designated as such, is described by Beach (8), who created the program to combat boredom in her ninth-grade Spanish class. Arrangements were made for the students to go to the elementary school two days per week during one month to teach Spanish to younger students. The remaining class periods were spent in creating and collecting materials and in deciding what and how to teach. The "student teachers" were enthusiastic about a positive use for their years of language study, and many became more careful in their own study habits when they realized that they were serving as models for the younger children. At the end of the month they returned to dialogues, drills, and readings—but with renewed enthusiasm.

Individualization

Perhaps an even more radical departure from the traditional course is a brief period of individualization. Lafayette (60) suggests that cultural materials lend themselves especially well to weeks of individualized instruction, which may be alternated with the core course. During the periods of individualization, the slower students might work with remedial or reinforcement materials as well as with their individualized cultural materials. Faster students are encouraged to participate in an extensive individualized culture program.

"Blocking"

Clemson University endorses the concept of "blocking" in its intermediate language courses (Stewart, 95). This procedure combines some of the features of the minicourse with an individualized approach. The entire class reads and discusses a play prior to the four- to six-day blocked period during which some members continue to attend class to rehearse the play while others work individually with materials in their field of specialization. Students who prepare the play improve their oral-aural skills and increase their understanding of the literary piece by becoming more aware of character motivation and situational meaning, while the students who read in their area of specialization are provided with a practical use for their language study. After the blocked period the play is presented to those students who have been reading individually, and the class moves back into the traditional course together.

Short-range objectives

An outcome usually assured by individualized, "blocked," or minicourse programs, but often absent from the traditional course, is the satisfaction that accompanies the accomplishment of short-range objectives. Learning a foreign language is a difficult and complex task, one that can seem to the learner like a never-ending series of dialogues and drills unless there is a visible personal outcome for each practice session (Grittner, 42). Knop (59) contends that "it is not enough to say, 'One fine day you will speak Spanish like a native.' That is too far off. It is much more effective to say, 'In two weeks a native Spaniard is coming to talk with you. What would you like to ask him? Let's see how many questions we can perfect before then' " (p. 100).

Somewhat more elaborate short-term projects that can infuse each daily practice session with significance include preparing a special program for parents and friends, film-making (Listerman, 62), participating in the production of a play or puppet show, and making preparations for a trip abroad (Johnson, 54) or for a visit to language classes in a nearby college or university (Knop, 59). Teaching less advanced students on a limited basis can also be a short-term objective which, according to all accounts, results in great personal satisfaction. This may take the form of tutoring as well as whole-class instruction.

Small-group work

The incorporation of small-group work into the classroom most completely transforms it from "a situation in which youthful human beings face in the same direction with one adult facing them" into a room in which individuals are engaged in expressing ideas, asking questions, and perhaps even sharing feelings. Quinn (81) reports this perceptive student comment concerning small-group as opposed to whole-class work: "Toward the end we were addressing each other directly, communicating as friends rather than as students in a class only communicating with one another through a teacher or when directed to do so as an exercise" (p. 601).

Toward a more eclectic, more experimental approach

Brooks' description of the typical classroom focused on its characteristic seating arrangement, time period, and physical facilities. While these features no doubt contributed to a certain uniformity, students of the past decade possibly reacted more negatively to another kind of sameness–the standardized procedures of a rigid methodology. This is not to say that every language teacher used the same methodology. Quite the contrary was true. There were "audiolingualists," "grammar-translationists," and "direct methodologists." There were reading methods and silent methods and verbal-active methods. The thread of sameness that linked these diverse systems was the belief that *one* method was adequate to meet the scholastic needs of all language learners. While many teachers would still characterize their basic approach as "principally audiolingual" or "primarily grammar-translation," the field today seems to be increasingly characterized by eclecticism and is infused with a spirit of experimentation. Emphasis is on strategies and techniques for specific purposes rather than on one all-inclusive methodology.

Methodology versus techniques

Experimentation and eclecticism: Avenues to experimentation. A spirit of experimentation does not imply trying everything in the hope that something will work. Moreover, the creation of a new strategy or technique does not always take place in the same way. When called upon to respond to a certain need each individual teacher may proceed in a highly idiosyncratic fashion toward the resolution of his problem.

A practical approach

Turner (97) reports on techniques designed to meet the needs of a particular group of college students in an intermediate Spanish class. Having identified as factors of importance to the students "their interest in cultural differences . . . , their practical bent . . . , their concern for social issues and their need for personal creative expression" (p. 632), the teachers of the course proceeded to incorporate into their course techniques designed to capitalize on these needs and concerns. In this case the techniques took the form of:

1 Cross-cultural debates in which students were encouraged to take extreme emotional views on such resolutions as "This house resolves that the women of the Hispanic world should be liberated"
2 Simulations that consisted of dramatic confrontations where the information given to one party was designed to conflict in certain ways with that given to the other party
3 Puppet shows in which the dialogues were based upon a philosophical difference between two world leaders such as Castro and Nixon.

Starting from theory

The above techniques were derived from the observed preoccupations and capabilities of a particular group of students at a certain stage of their linguistic and cultural development. An alternative avenue of experimentation consists of deriving a technique from a statement of theory. The technique is then tested with a group of students. Mueller (71), for example, has taken Rivers' theoretical model of the listening process (sensing, segmenting, and recoding) and from it has developed a number of techniques for teaching listening comprehension. In the following example, based on *Le Petit Prince*, the message is presented in several stages that are progressively embellished:

Stage 1 *J'avais six ans. J'ai vu une image.*
Stage 2 *A l'âge de six ans, j'ai vu une image.*
Stage 3 *Lorsque j'avais six ans, j'ai vu une magnifique image.*

During each pause the listener is asked to repeat quickly the nucleus of the phrase, that is, the headword in a noun phrase or the main verb of the verb phrase. The article includes examples in Spanish and German as well as French.

Error analysis

A procedure recommended by Valdman (98) derives both from psycholinguistic theory and from his analysis of specific errors made by beginning French students at Indiana University. To elicit certain wh-type questions, the experimenter told the students to imagine that they had just met a Frenchman and that they were to extract certain information from him. When analysis of the results revealed that 30 percent of the questions contained QU-fronting, one of four synonymous interrogative structures in French but *not* one to which the learners had been exposed, it was decided that this information could be used in the creation of a more facilitative selection and ordering of French interrogative structures. Materials were therefore prepared in which QU-fronting was the first type of question introduced. The results of a second experiment in which these materials were used tended to support the belief that introducing QU-fronting before *est-ce que* actually resulted in fewer errors than had previously been observed. Noting that any skillful teacher will use error analysis in grammatical explanations and drills, Valdman urges that members of the profession go beyond this informal use of such data and employ information gained in this manner in determining the order in which linguistic elements should be taught and in establishing aims and objectives of instruction.

Analyzing the approaches

In examining the above experimental approaches, we find that they range from informal to scientific, from practical to theoretical, and from specific to general. Consistent, however, is the spirit of experimentation–the willingness to identify needs, to ask questions, to seek solutions, and then to try again.

Drills and dialogues

Experimentation and eclecticism: Modifying familiar techniques. In harmony with the movement away from a single methodology and with the spirit of experimentation that seems to characterize the present mood of the profession are numerous attempts to modify familiar techniques such as drills and dialogues, the mainstays of audiolingualism.

Classification of drills

A useful classification of structure drills by Paulston (78) appeared in 1970. Drills, she contended, may be classified as either mechanical, meaningful, or communicative.

Mechanical drills are drills where the teacher completely controls the response and where there is only one correct way of responding. Drills of this type are conspicuously absent from the professional literature of this year and in fact have been widely and severely criticized. Oller (73), for example, speaks out against "manipulating purely abstract elements of a verbal calculus—usually a paradigm of totally unrelated sentences illustrating a point of syntax" (p. 48). While there seems to be some question about the efficacy of mechanical drills for the teaching of syntax, Hammerly (45) defends the stimulus-response-reinforcement model for the teaching of phonology. Reid (82), too, sees standard drills as effective in the relatively small closed systems of morphology and phonology with their fixed relationships.

Mechanical drills

A meaningful drill is a drill the student cannot complete without understanding structurally or semantically what he is saying. The teacher, however, controls the content of the response. In addition to repeated exhortations never to allow the student to manipulate a pattern without knowing what he is saying, a growing concern for meaningfulness is evidenced by the appearance in the literature of numerous meaningful drills. Finocchiaro and Bonomo (33) suggest pattern drills built around one topic or one area such as foods, recreation, or daily routines. In this case the interrelated vocabulary would tend to foster meaningfulness. The multi-tense verb drills advocated by Spindler (90) would also require that the student be aware of what he is saying as can be seen in the following example:

Meaningful drills

T: Do you watch television?
S: Yes, I always watch television.
T: And last night?
S: Yes, I watched it last night.
T: And tonight?
S: Yes, I'm going to watch it tonight.

This drill differs from the more usual monotense pattern drill in which the tense remains constant while the meaning-bearing verb stem varies: I *buy* the book; I *read* the book; I *see* the book.

Two activities that are related to the multitense verb drill in that they hold meaning constant and vary syntactical features are the transformational drill as described by Reid (82) and a paraphrasing technique outlined by Beardsmore and Lee (9). As the following example illustrates, the transformational drill leads the student through a series of transformations to the generation of a particular grammatical form:

Generating an Adjective
Snoopy is a dog. Snoopy is spotted.
Snoopy is a dog, who is spotted.
Snoopy is a spotted dog. (Reid, 82, p. 484).

The purpose of the paraphrasing technique is not to help the learner generate a syntactical form but rather to sensitize him to idiomatic rather than formal expressions of meaning. Students are given statements that they put into their own words as in this example:

> *Original sentence*. "How many firms regularly ask themselves the following type of question: How exposed are we to being absorbed by another company?" *Paraphrase*. "How many companies regularly ask themselves questions like: How vulnerable are we to a takeover bid?" (Beardsmore and Lee, 9, pp. 344-45).

Obviously, the transformational drill could be used at an earlier stage of learning than the paraphrasing technique.

Communicative drills

The essential characteristic of a communicative drill is that a real message is transmitted and received. The most usual communicative drill is a drill of the question-response type where the student has free choice of answer. This activity still remains a drill rather than real communication because it is within the realm of the cued-response pattern. Extensive use of communicative drill practice is strongly endorsed by Foreman (35), who argues for entirely by-passing the mechanical and meaningful levels of drill build up.

An imperative drill

Related to communicative drill in that a real message is transmitted and received is the total-physical-response technique, a kind of imperative drill in which the teacher gives commands which are then carried out by the students. In field-testing this technique, Asher et al. (4) found that most of the grammatical features of German could be nested in the imperative form. The command "When Luke walks to the window, Mary *will* write

Luke's name on the board" would, for example, drill the future tense while "Marie, pick up the picture of the ugly old man and put it next to the picture of the government building" would provide practice with adjectives (pp. 26-27).

Meaningful dialogues

With dialogues as with drills, the trend seems definitely to be away from rote memorization and toward meaningfulness. Pfister (79, 80) proposes a dialogue reinforcement schedule as an alternative to dialogue memorization and insists that all dialogue practice should emphasize meaning. Finocchiaro and Bonomo (33) concur in this belief and recommend spiral dialogues, a series of dialogues dealing with one theme but which grow progressively more complex. They further suggest that students should be guided to "create" dialogues within different sociocultural situations. For example, if they have learned to use the structure "how much" in a dialogue built around shopping, they should be encouraged to create utterances or entire dialogues using "how much" in buying a plane ticket or in another related situation.

Real communication

Communicating versus doing exercises

Experimentation and eclecticism: Beyond dialogues and drills. Audiolingualism advocated a gradual progression from highly controlled practice to liberated expression. Presently, however, some use of the language for authentic communicative purposes even in beginning language courses is frequently advocated (Oller, 73; Rivers, 84; Savignon, 86). Because of their artificial quality, dialogues and drills, with the exception of communicative drill as defined by Paulston (78), are inconsistent with the authentic purpose of language as an instrument of communication. "A student who says: 'Where are you going tonight?' to another student and expects a reply is learning to communicate. If he says exactly the same words in a mechanical fashion as part of a drill or dialogue because the teacher says this is what he should do, he is learning to do an exercise . . ." (Rivers, 84, p. 66). Very often speaking practice is contrived so that the learner must ask questions for which he already knows the answers or elicit information of which he has no need and in which he is not interested (Kennedy, 57).

Guessing games and puzzles

One authentic use of language that may be employed almost from the first day of class is the guessing game. Instead of proceeding with the usual drills for telling time, for example, the teacher might ask one student to think of the time he got up that morning or the time at which he ate lunch yesterday. The other students would then call out their guesses in the foreign language. In such a game the student is free to respond as he wishes, but his answer must be based upon his knowledge of the real world. Similar guessing games can be devised to practice numbers, dates, adjectives, nouns, and verbs, etc. (Joiner, 56). Another communicative activity built upon a kind of game, in this case a crossword puzzle, is described by Carter (23).

While some real language practice can involve the entire class in the same activity, small-group interaction more closely resembles our typical daily use of language. As Rivers (84) points out, however, students cannot be set down in groups or sent off in pairs and told to interact in the foreign language. She suggests 12 natural uses of language in interaction that can serve as the basis for interaction practice (pp. 30–32). Small groups may, for example, work on a project or craft and use the language to give directions, to ask for help, or to request materials. Card games and commercial games such as *Mille Bornes* and *Scrabble* can also provide motivation to communicate in the foreign language (Wallace, 99). MacDonald (64) has created a game called *Dopo* for use in the elementary school. Ideally, with several small-group activities taking place at the same time, the student will be offered a choice of tasks—games to play, things to do, situations in which to react (Rivers, 84, p. 29).

Language in interaction

A choice of activities

Macnamara (66), observing that the language learning situation in the nursery and in the street is natural since it involves the need to communicate, charges teachers with the task of making the school more like the home and the street. In addition to the real situations described above, simulated situations can expand the language learning experience of the students. Simple imaginary scenes can be created from the first day of class. For example, after teaching greetings, the teacher might say in the student's native tongue, "You are walking to school and you meet Mr. X. What would you say?" (Finocchiaro and Bonomo, 33). Somewhat more elaborate simulations involve two or more students in role-playing. In Savignon's study (86) students were given a great variety of communicative tasks, which included asking for and giving directions, making introductions, extending invitations, and accepting and refusing invitations. Turner (97) advocates the teaching of survival vocabularies (words necessary for the discussion of travel,

Natural versus artificial

Simulation and role-playing

money, disease, nutrition, and so on) that are activated in demand situations such as this: "You are quite ill with special symptoms (severe diarrhea, weakness, nausea). Explain your symptoms to a physician" (p. 632). In at least one institution, Weber State College, videotaping and playback of role-playing exercises has been used to provide opportunity for self-criticism (Adams, 1).

An attitude toward error

Techniques alone cannot, however, provide an authentic environment for linguistic development. Naturalness also implies a certain attitude toward error. Language teachers have generally tended to stress grammatical or phonological accuracy in speaking. Oller and Richards (74) suggest that some of the emphasis on *how* things are said should be redistributed to give the lion's share to *what* learners are saying or trying to say. In a similar vein, Rivers (84) recommends that the quality of interaction practice should be judged by these criteria: "ability to receive and express meaning, to understand and convey intentions, to perform acceptably in situations and in relations with others" (p. 29). She counsels teachers to note, but not to correct, mistakes made during interaction practice. Frequent mistakes can be discussed with the student privately or used as the basis for drills.

"What" versus "how"

Multiskill techniques

Drills and dialogues were designed primarily to develop the speaking skill during a decade when it was felt that each skill should be exercised separately. The present emphasis on communication, involving as it does both the transmission and the reception of messages, seems to have brought with it an increase in language practice that involves at least two–and sometimes all four–skills. One example of this type of exercise is Moravcevich's (70) *reconstitution de texte*, which involves listening, speaking, and writing. Even in practice that stresses the development of one skill, a shift in emphasis from linguistic to communicative proficiency is often apparent. The suggestions for spoken and written composition drawn up by Nacci (72), for example, emphasize the communication of information in an informal manner. Just as speaking and writing involve "getting the idea across," listening and reading involve "getting the message." Techniques for teaching auditory comprehension as an *active* skill are described by Angelis (2); Mueller (71) has developed comprehension exercises for both reading and listening that encourage forward guessing or an-

Emphasis on communicating

ticipation of the message the speaker or writer is trying to convey.

Focusing on communication has also brought about increased interest in the foreign people. Kirch (58) contends that information exchange is only a part of communication, which is to a large extent a cultural ritual. Tucker and Lambert (96) believe so strongly that communication must involve cultural sensitivity that they suggest as an alternative to traditional foreign language study "the possibility of teaching FL's by moving from the sociocultural aspects to the linguistic with language *qua* language being introduced almost incidentally" (p. 246).

A cultural phenomenon

Why go beyond drills and dialogues? Macnamara (67) believes that human beings are equipped with a language learning mechanism that is essentially geared to human thought and to its communication and does not function at all well unless the learner is vitally engaged in the act of communicating. Carney (21) cites the positive motivational effect of communicative exercises on students, and Rivers (84) emphasizes that the ultimate purpose of any language is expression: "a person revealing himself to, or disguising himself or hiding himself from, another or other persons" (p. 1). Speaking from a more practical point of view, DiPietro (27) notes that students, if they are ever going to be able to communicate, need to have practice in how to grope for a word in the foreign language and how to cope with seemingly irrelevant questions and interruptions. Debyser (26), in a similar vein, cites as an advantage of simulations the fact that they permit the student to learn of his needs, his shortcomings, and his progress through experience. Drills and dialogues alone, while they may offer numerous pedagogical advantages, seem to be inadequate to meet the learner's need to communicate, a need that is at once psycholinguistic, emotional, and practical.

Reasons for communicative practice

The need to communicate

Experimentation and eclecticism: Materials that meet needs. If the learning activity packet can be called the heart of an individualized program, the classroom text and its allied materials constitute the heart of a conventional program of language instruction. The textbook author usually aims for general appeal and attempts to structure his book to meet the needs of the hypothetical average language learner. Only the teacher can modify this material to meet the needs of individual students

From general to specific

in a specific environment at a particular stage of their linguistic development.

Selecting the text

The first step in tailoring materials to meet needs is the painstaking selection of the text itself. To the usual criteria—student appeal, clarity of explanation, lengths of units, and so on—should be added consideration of the amount and quality of accompanying audiovisual aids. The fact that some students learn more by the ear than by the eye (Rivers, 84, p. 6) would seem to make a multisensory, multimedia approach advisable (Harrington, 46).

Altering materials

Once the text and its allied aids have been selected, the tailoring process continues as these basic materials are adapted and supplemented to increase their effectiveness. R. Stern (94), for example, has taken standard tapes and altered them to meet the needs of slow; average, and accelerated students. Slower students listen to a remediated version that contains review exercises as well as the lesson of the day. All listen-repeat exercises are eliminated from the tapes of accelerated students, who, instead, listen to literary texts or musical selections. Average students hear the original tape with some alterations for the sake of variety.

Teacher-made visuals

Accentuating meaningful language practice seems to have brought about a renewed interest in the use of teacher-made visuals to supplement the classroom text. In contrast to Hartwig (47), who stresses the use of visuals for teaching vocabulary, Carter (23) proposes that materials designed for overhead projection should follow structural rather than purely semantic or contextual criteria.

Supplementing vocabulary

One area in which texts built upon syntactical principles will perhaps need to be supplemented is that of vocabulary. The importance of the lexicon in communication is well illustrated by Hughes' story of the man who, equipped with the single word *jambon*, enters a café and gets something to eat while the good student who produces the well-formed pattern: "*Monsieur, pouvez-vous me donner du* ______?" remains hungry (Hartwig, 47, p. 720).

While some of the more recent foreign language texts include authentic cultural and linguistic material, there is something decidedly artificial in the very selection of certain samples of language and culture to serve as the content of the text (Ken-

Authentic materials

nedy, 57). The textbook should be supplemented by unedited materials such as radio broadcasts, newspapers, tape and pen correspondence, films, and magazines. Such material may be used to add a note of freshness as in the techniques based on advertisements reported by Brown (18) or to replace the textbook completely as in the reading course described by Gugli (44).

The importance of varied, authentic, and flexible materials in the process of tailoring instruction to meet student needs should not be underestimated. The textbook of the future, as outlined by Steiner (92), will have a great deal of built-in variety and flexibility. Until that text becomes a reality, however, much of the burden for adapting and altering commercially published materials falls upon the classroom teacher.

The teacher's responsibility

Meeting the needs of the whole student

Pointing out that the teacher often views the student solely in terms of his scholastic needs, A. N. Smith (88) urges foreign language teachers to consider the whole student whose physical, emotional, psychological, and social needs are intimately related to his academic performance. Although affective needs are discussed at length elsewhere in this volume, it should be pointed out that the distinction between affective and cognitive, between feeling and thought, can be made only in the abstract; the two are closely linked in the teaching-learning process. There is evidence of a growing awareness in the profession of the importance of feelings and attitudes as well as specific illustrations of techniques which are based upon the premise that students have affective as well as cognitive needs.

One student, many needs

Thought and feeling

In the past, articles and papers concerning the teaching of phonology did not dwell upon affective considerations. The recommended instructional procedures were orderly and scientific. Aronson (3) suggests that a set of factors he labels attitudinal, cultural, or sociopsychological may be responsible for the fact that some students have retained an American accent in spite of science and technology. He believes that the intonation of the foreign language or perhaps even the pronunciation of a single sound may carry certain connotations with which the student does not want to be identified.

The American accent

Similarly, language teachers have tended to disregard the affective and experiential dimensions of meaningfulness. According to F. Smith, however, "any act of learning involves the relating or integrating of all new information into the individual's theory of the world, a theory constructed by the individual himself on the basis of all past experience" (Woodsworth, 101, p. 69). Metz (69), applying this theory to reading, insists that reading is important only if it communicates something to the student in the light of his experiential background and also that reading material should be selected with this fact in mind.

Meaningful reading selections

Words and their "meanings" are often learned very superficially by students for whom vocabulary study seems a rather artificial exercise. Finocchiaro and Bonomo (33) advocate giving first priority to lexical items associated with the student's immediate environment whether these words are in the textbook or not. Carney (21) offers an interesting variation on the teaching of vocabulary in preparation for the reading of a literary text. Ordinarily, essential vocabulary would be learned by the students before their first encounter with the text. While following this general procedure, Carney also appeals to the imagination of the students by asking them to tell in their own words what kind of story *they* would make up with the given words and expressions.

Meaningful vocabulary study

The imaginations of students can also be exercised in class projects such as film-making. Listerman (62) describes the effect of such a project on an intermediate German class. Because various skills were required, each student had the opportunity to do what he enjoyed most. For example, one small group of students collaborated to rewrite *Carl Schurz*, their reading text, as a film scenario, and another group researched and sewed costumes for the actors. While students working individually or in groups were able to exercise their special talents or to pursue their particular interests, the entire class was united in a single purpose, the production of the film.

A class project

The creativity of students may also be brought into play through a variety of individual projects. In teaching literature Wishard (100) has experimented with allowing students to respond to a work in a visual or audio medium rather than in a term paper if they prefer. Collages, paintings, sculptures, photographic projects of all types, movies, tapes, musical montages, prose stories, and original poetry—some of very high quality—have been submitted. Providing the student with the opportunity to respond in his own way indicates respect for the student

Individual projects

as a whole person and at the same time fosters the interplay of cognitive and affective learnings.

Communicative activities

In addition to personalized exercises and special group and individual projects, communicative activities such as those previously described in this chapter should contribute to meeting the emotional, psychological, and social needs of students. The dependence of the development of communicative proficiency upon the affective climate of the classroom is brought out by Rivers (84), who contends that "spontaneous communication and free interaction are possible in any language only when teachers and their students have built up a warm, uninhibited, confident, sympathetic relationship and when such a relationship also exists among the students themselves" (p. 4).

Summary

1 While "tailoring instruction to student needs" may imply curricular innovation such as minicourses and individualization, it must include the interactive phase of the educational process. It is this day-to-day and moment-to-moment interaction of teacher, student, and material that constitutes the heart of any program.

2 As he attempts to meet the multiple needs of myriad students, the teacher must often be less than precise, offering the learner options rather than prescribing a custom-designed course of study, assembling students with similar interests and needs for convenience of instruction rather than conferring with them individually, designing techniques for a particular class rather than for a particular student. Thus, *tailoring* in its most literal sense remains an ideal rather than a reality for the profession.

3 Yet the spirit of innovation and eclecticism that presently seems to characterize the field is evidence of a continuing movement away from the uniformity and standardization associated with early mass-production in industry and with adherence to a single method in foreign language teaching. The literature contains numerous indications that language teachers are now modifying old techniques and experimenting with new ones in an effort to determine what works well not with the average learner but with a particular group of learners. Additionally, they are adapting and

supplementing standard teaching materials to meet the needs of their own students rather than slavishly following a single text or program.

4 The need to communicate is believed to be intimately linked with success in language acquisition. For this reason, interaction practice and simulation techniques are being used increasingly to supplement, if not to supplant, the more usual dialogue and drill exercises. The distinction between speech production and real language use appears to have moved from the realm of theory into that of actual classroom language practice.

5 Although the learner and his characteristics are seen as crucial variables in second language learning, the role of the teacher is not a passive one. Tailoring instruction to student needs involves determining needs and characteristics, diagnosing learning problems, experimenting with numerous and varied instructional techniques, and motivating the student to want to learn. It is an active, challenging, and, hopefully, rewarding endeavor.

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Affective education and foreign language learning

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Need for humanistic education

A visit to modern day classrooms–both individualized and teacher-centered–would reveal that most teachers concentrate overwhelmingly on transmitting subject-matter knowledge and skills, that is, *cognitive* learning. Little conscious effort is devoted to the emotional, or *affective,* dimension of such learning. Traditionally schools are dedicated to educating the human mind and body; they ignore the needs of the human heart. Purely intellectual training, however, is grossly inadequate for meeting the demands of our technological society. Sophisticated scientific knowledge must be accompanied by a sense of how to employ it for the good of mankind. Education, then, must be humanistic. It must satisfy affective human needs for self-discovery. It must train people to communicate more effectively with each other. In an era of moral confusion, it must offer guidance in discovering one's own personal values.

Impact of affective education

Since the late 1960s more and more educators have become convinced of the inadequacy of unidimensional cognitive training. With increasing frequency and urgency they are calling for

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Purpose of chapter

humanistic, or affective, education. The impact of this growing movement is beginning to make itself felt in the field of foreign language teaching. The purpose of this chapter is to survey the affective education movement in general and its particular applications to foreign language learning.

Goals of affective education

Affective goals of education
Better human beings

The goals of humanistic education are perhaps best stated by Maslow (69), who decries the excessive concern of schools for efficiency—for transmitting the largest number of facts to the largest number of children at a minimum cost in time, expense, and effort. Instead, he feels that educators should seek to create better human beings. A chief goal is to help students find their identities and their vocations in life. Discovery of identity means learning what one's real feelings, desires, and characteristics are and finding a lifestyle that permits their expression. It means being authentic. Behavior and speech are consistent with the true and spontaneous expressions of inner feelings. Finding one's identity is nearly synonymous with finding one's career. Students need to be guided toward self-fulfilling work that brings them happiness, not toward careers that only fulfill the needs of society.

Satisfaction of human needs

Schools should teach students to be fully human, to discover their "specieshood." A person should learn what he uniquely is; how he is what he is; what his potentialities are; the nature of his style, his pace, his tastes, his values; the direction in which he is going; how he is different from others, and the ways in which he is similar to others. A goal of education is to teach that life is precious and can be joyful. Schools need to sensitize students continually to the beauty and wonder of life around them. They must also teach students to choose wisely and to discover the values they are willing to defend. An additional goal of humanistic education is to satisfy human need for security, belongingness, dignity, love, respect, esteem, and self-realization. A child who is free from anxiety feels himself worthy of love. He knows that he belongs in the world and that someone respects and wants him.

Need for affective education

At the end of the 1960s and into the early 1970s a torrent of books poured forth to decry the lack of humanity in American schools. Holt (47, 48, 49) asserted that schools engender fear and prevent learning. Hentoff (41), Herndon (43, 44), Kohl (58), Kozol (59), and other so-called "romantic" critics charged that schools oppress students and stifle their creative development. After careful nationwide research Silberman (95), in 1970, found most schools to be "grim and joyless" places whose authoritarian structures emphasize thinking to the exclusion of spontaneity and feeling. He concluded that the needs of the future are not for intellectuals, but for educated people who are capable of both thinking and feeling.

Criticism of schools

Need for both thinking and feeling

In the year that Silberman came to these conclusions Weinstein and Fantini (106) pointed out that curriculum developers are concerned solely with the cognitive content of the curriculum to the exclusion of its impact on students' feelings and its relevance to their needs and concerns. Studies of current student interests are used, they claimed, to identify "hooks" to entice students into learning bits of information adults see as important. The needs of the learners have not been considered in ways that allow a curriculum to develop out of those needs. Notions about "affective" curricula have been offered as a means to achieve purely cognitive goals. In most schools the requirements of the various subject disciplines determine what is in the curriculum. Rarely does curricular content help students deal in personal terms with the problems of human conduct. Borton (10) states that an education that does not focus on human understanding is irrelevant.

Affective hooks

Other writers join in voicing concern over the lack of attention to the affective dimension of education. New York State Commissioner of Education Ewald Nyquist (81) states that schools have too long emphasized material and technological values rather than human values. Jencks (53) points out that noncognitive effects of schooling are liable to be more important than cognitive ones. They may even play a larger role in economic success than the knowledge and skills students acquire in school.

Importance of noncognitive learning

Interrelationship of thinking and feeling

Perhaps the most important reason for dealing with affective considerations in the curriculum is simply that feelings are part of each child's experience and should not be ignored. Kubie

(62) speaks of the child's "fifth freedom: his right to know and understand the feelings he experiences. Kubie (63) calls the omission of this important area of learning a "conspiracy of silence." Another reason why education must include the affective domain is that cognitive activity is accompanied invariably by affective activity. One without the other is barren. Educators and psychologists have long recognized the inseparable relationship between the two. Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (60) write that the internalization of cognitive material is essentially affective. Brown (12) describes the relationship between cognition and affect as "indestructibly symbiotic" (p. 11).

To understand feelings

Relationship between cognition and affect

Early psychoanalytic writers saw a child's learning ability as inextricably entwined with his emotional life (Fenichel, 27). More recently Klein (57) points out that the emotional impact of cognitive material may be positive or negative. An unconscious fantasy, for example, may produce learning that is different from the expected. Too much personally significant material may impede learning. However, the unconscious fantasy may lead to fresh, creative insights. Izard (51); Tomkins (101, 102); and Tomkins and Izard (103) maintain that the emotional and cognitive subsystems of the personality are fully interacting systems. Izard in comprehensive and far-ranging research found that ability to recognize and label emotions in others correlates positively with indexes of intellectual and conceptual motor development in preschool children. Emotion recognition was also found to be a significant predictor of academic achievement in reading and thinking.

Effects of unconscious fantasy

In an attempt to explain the interaction of cognition and affect, Wright (115) states that where there is no meaning or importance to cognitive material, indifference and lack of learning result. Brown (12) restates this idea more positively: If an emotional dimension is added to learning, the learner will become personally involved, and consequently a change will result in his behavior (p. 16). Jones (55) believes that the human mind and human heart are inseparable. If educators allow random encounters to determine the development of affective skills, learners may turn to one of two extremes: pedantry or anti-intellectualism.

Interaction of cognition and affect

Lyon (67) considers the affective domain more important than the cognitive: "Intellect divorced from feelings is empty and meaningless" (p. 18). Brown (12) maintains, however, that humanistic education must not stress feeling to the exclusion of thinking:

> We do not suggest as an ideal the hedonistic, anarchistic individual who expresses his feelings no matter what, where, when, or who. This sort of person is as "out of it" as the ones who have no feelings. A healthy individual has a mind and uses it—not to deny the existence of feelings but to differentiate how, when, and with whom it is appropriate to express feelings spontaneously from occasions when one must wait (p. 12).

A curriculum of affect

Weinstein and Fantini (106) assert that no teaching procedure can be effective if the curricular content holds little interest for the students. To redress what they consider to be the current gross imbalance between the cognitive and affective components of most curriculum plans, they propose an instructional model for developing a new curriculum based on the concerns of students (pp. 33–59).

Curriculum of concerns* vs. *curriculum of interests

Their curriculum of concerns, however, differs considerably from the child-centered "needs and interests" approach of the progressive education movement. Though well-intentioned, the reformers tended in practice to deal more with learner interests than with learner needs. A curriculum built on interests, though, is limited in several ways. Student interests are often quite transitory, and today's interests do not necessarily indicate what tomorrow's interests will be. Moreover, what students say *interests* them may not be what really *concerns* them. Interests usually involve much less anxiety than concerns, which are more profound and longer-lasting. An affective curriculum must thus treat interests as merely surface clues to the basic causes of uneasiness or anxieties in learners. Concerns, however, need not necessarily be negative. They may be rooted in positive desires and aspirations for which students seek outlets and channels. These aspirations can be considered negative in that they represent a source of dissatisfaction or a gap between current reality and a mental ideal.

Weinstein and Fantini (106) maintain that an affective curriculum should offer ways of helping students move toward realizing their aspirations and overcoming their fears and anxieties. Three general categories into which most student concerns may be classified are concern about self-image; concern about disconnectedness, a desire to relate to others or to society and to understand how one fits into the general social scheme; and concern about control over one's life (p. 39). The ultimate educational goal of such a curriculum is humanitarian. Schools must take responsibility for preparing students to engage in constructive personal and social behavior. In a highly complex and precarious world, society has few alternatives but to strive toward the development of humanitarian behavior. Unless this is accomplished, society will ultimately head toward decline and decay, no matter how successfully specific subject matter is taught in the schools (p. 19). Weinstein and Fantini believe that stronger ties between the affective domain of learner's concerns and the school's cognitive concerns would reduce the discrepancy between what students learn in class and how they behave outside of class.

Three categories of student concerns

Humanitarian behavior

An affective curriculum does not toss out cognitive content. Subject matter may consist of traditional school disciplines such as English, mathematics, science; of material from other disciplines such as psychology and sociology; of media; and of the students' own experiences both in and out of class. Basic skills such as reading, writing, and oral communication are not neglected. Rather, these skills are constantly employed in the process of achieving the affective goals established. Another important set of skills an affective curriculum aims to develop are those involved in "learning to learn."

Cognitive content in affective curricula

Harmin, Kirschenbaum, and Simon (38) agree that an affective curriculum must not disregard cognitive content. They advocate teaching subject matter on three levels: the facts level, the concepts level, and the values level. If teachers are to make a difference in the quality of their students' lives, they cannot be content to remain at the first two levels of teaching. They must rise to the values level where subject matter is related to student interests, attitudes, concerns, feelings, and behaviors (pp. 24–25). The purpose of facts and concepts, the authors state, is to "inform"–to give form to–one's values, decisions, and daily life experiences. To be relevant, education must touch students in significant ways. It must integrate their thinking, feeling, and acting so that individuals gain a sense of their pur-

Three-level teaching of subject matter

pose in life. Education must not impose meanings and values; rather, it must help students discover their own. The goal of the three-level teaching described is to help students discern facts, make sense of them, and live according to the meanings they perceive (p. 27). Examples of this kind of teaching are provided by the authors in most major subject areas. Useful ideas are presented for literature (pp. 44–46) and vocabulary (p. 47). The suggestions for foreign languages (pp. 77–78), however, are inconsistent with commonly held beliefs and accepted practices in language teaching.

Discovering personal values

Psychological bases of affective education

Affective or humanistic education results in part from the work of humanistic psychologists, represented most notably by Abraham Maslow, whose Basic Needs Theory of human motivation provides a cornerstone of the movement. Maslow (70) postulates a hierarchical order of human needs. As lower needs are largely satisfied, new higher-level needs emerge and demand satisfaction. The most basic level consists of physiological needs for comfort and survival. Next come safety needs. Parents generally satisfy these needs by providing physical satisfactions and protecting the child from physical tension and harm. The need for safety leads to a desire for predictable events and consistent behavior from others. Emerging next are needs for belongingness and love. Ties with family and other members as well as intimacy with another person are sought to satisfy these needs. Maslow sees the spread of personal growth groups, such as sensitivity training groups, as evidence of lack of satisfaction of love and belongingness needs in contemporary society. Among adolescents these needs may be expressed in rebellion groups, emotional disturbance, and a sense of aimlessness. At the fourth level are needs for self-esteem as well as for the esteem of others. A person seeks to prove his personal competence and earn outside recognition of his efforts.

Basic Needs Theory

The highest human need is for self-actualization. First mentioned by Goldstein (33) and called variously "optimum personality functioning" (Izard, 51), "fully functioning personality" (Rogers, 91), and "self-actualizing person" (Goldstein, 33; Horney, 50), this concept refers to a person's innate desire to develop to his full potential. According to Maslow (70), what

Self-actualization

a person *may* be, he *must* become. A self-actualizing person strives toward developing a rich and meaningful existence, toward creativity, and toward goodness.

Among characteristics of self-actualizing human beings Maslow mentions clear perception of reality, openness to experience, spontaneity and expressiveness, a firm sense of identity, ability to integrate concreteness and abstractness, and the ability to love (71).

Schools cannot formally teach students to actualize their potential, yet helping students to develop their own innate abilities and inherent powers is a formidable challenge facing teachers. At the lowest-needs level, a hungry, tired, or cold child cannot learn well. At the level of safety, a student who feels threatened by the teacher or the teacher's erratic or inconsistent demands may not learn efficiently. Less clear, however, is the idea that an unloved or estranged student or one lacking self-confidence or self-esteem will encounter cognitive difficulties. Jones (55) states that some unloved children do learn what is demanded of them in a desperate attempt to gain the love and attention of authority figures. This learning, however, lacks the creativity and inventiveness of learners who are sufficiently free from anxiety so that they are able to use their imaginations effectively.

Basic needs and student achievements

Self-actualization is the most difficult need of all to fulfill in most contemporary classrooms. Self-actualization requires one to be different; yet, conformity brings greater acceptance in schools. Self-actualization involves taking risks, perhaps dangerous ones, while schools generally encourage rigid obedience (Holt, 46), thereby retarding self-actualization (Leonard, 64).

Disick (19) presents several ways in which foreign language teachers may structure their classes to maximize possibilities for meeting the five basic motivational needs of their students. She suggests that teachers attend to the physical comfort of the classroom and allow students opportunities to move about the room should they become restless. Safety needs may be satisfied by establishing equitable and consistent management and evaluation practices. Love and belonging are enhanced when students are involved in small-group work with friends. Esteem needs may be met through peer tutoring and successful learning experiences. A diversity of learning options may serve to promote self-actualization.

Promoting self-actualization

Humanistic educators hold that the business of schools is to foster the development of fully functioning, self-actualizing people. Izard (51) defines optimal effectiveness as the integration of emotional and cognitive functioning. Wright (114) describes self-actualizing people as open to feelings, accurate in self-perception and self-understanding, possessing well-developed senses of identity and self-acceptance despite awareness of personal limitation and imperfections. These people are authentic; they do not wear masks or pretend to be what they are not. They demonstrate self-discipline and self-control and are able to postpone immediate rewards and gratification in favor of long-term achievements. These individuals exercise good judgment and moderation, when called for, as well as strong effort and intense concentration when necessary. Although they spend their time alone creatively, self-actualizing people are also capable of relating effectively to people of both similar and different backgrounds. Wright states that the development of positive self-regard and independence reduces the need for prejudice against others.

Self-actualizing people

Perls, another psychologist whose work has influenced the movement toward affective education, also stresses the importance of self-actualization. His approach to psychotherapy (gestalt therapy) emphasizes the whole of one's being and experience, the completeness and integrity of the human organism. According to Perls (84), human beings are not the "summation" of their parts, but a "coordination" of these parts. Any imbalance prevents the organism from functioning as an integrated whole. Gestalt therapy is an attempt to restore the necessary balance and completeness that individuals need. Perls criticizes psychological approaches that deal only with fragments of human personality just as he condemns education that deals with the intellect to the exclusion of feeling. The more thinking is separated from feeling, the more a human being becomes a computing manipulative semi-person. Mature well-integrated people are aware of their various component parts, and they accept them. In their interactions they are capable of listening to others and understanding them; they are open both to themselves as well as to others.

Perls' gestalt therapy

Motivations of adolescents

Because much foreign language learning in this country occurs during adolescence, it is important to remember that adolescents have their own particular stresses and strengths that add to the motivational picture. Students frequently feel most insecure about themselves during this period. Erikson (24, 25, 26) writes that the major internal struggle in adolescence is for a sense of identity. "Who am I? What will I become?" they ask. Adolescents are beset with trying on different behaviors, attitudes, and roles in search of a stable sense of identity. This is a time of major contradictions. Fighting off conformity to parental rules, adolescents conform slavishly to the mores of their peers. Contradictions are based on conflicting needs to give up ties to parents and the need for closeness, the need for independence and their actual state of dependence (Solnit, 97).

Identity confusion in adolescents

Early adolescence is characterized by increased activity, increased aggressiveness, and decreased dependence on parents (Blos, 7; 36). This turning toward relationships outside the family for support, guidance, and identification makes teachers potentially influential at this time. Adolescents tend to attach increased importance to peer-group influences as well as increased significance to teachers as models. This may not always be obvious, however, since the young adolescent may be embarrassed by this new dependence and thus seeks to assure peers of his disdain for teachers.

Decreased dependence on parents

During late adolescence young people become more involved with external matters as the intense preoccupation with their inner selves diminishes. This is the time of idealistic protests and ideological pursuits. Although older adolescents appear more settled, they too are searching for goals, identity roles, and ideals. Frequently the older culture is thrown off as hypocritical and a new one is assumed (36; Ritvo, 88; Solnit, 97). This tendency can lead to heightened interest in foreign language learning as a means of developing a new identity or, at the other extreme, to total disinterest when language learning is seen as part of the parental social order. Therefore an effective foreign language curriculum would seem to be one that incorporates not only subject-matter requirements, but affective considerations as well. Further information on adolescent psychology may be found in Erickson (24, 25, 26), Goble (32), and Maslow (70, 71).

Foreign language learning and adolescent identities

Affective characteristics of successful teachers

A teacher's understanding of student needs may ultimately exert greater influence on subject-matter achievements than do the particular curriculum and the specific methods employed. Kubie (63) asserts that much greater learning impact can be recorded by changing the teacher than by changing the curriculum. Jones (55) states that two different teachers can create two totally different classroom situations—boredom or interest. The difference noted between the teachers' styles is related to their handling of emotionally laden material.

Teacher empathy and sensitivity

Among the teacher characteristics that have been identified as important factors in the ability to communicate and relate well to students is empathy, or sensitivity to others (Combs, Avila, and Purkey, 17). That interpersonal communication is enhanced by mutual understanding has been validated experimentally by Hogan and Henley (45) and Baldwin and Garvey (4) who found that an important component of successful communication is the ability to empathize, to put oneself in the place of the listener. Combs, Avila, and Purkey (17) consider the development of sensitivity to others as a matter of listening to the "meanings," or implications, of what people say rather than only to the words themselves. Both the feelings that accompany the message and its objective content must be understood.

Self-acceptance and acceptance of others

Self-acceptance, characteristic of self-actualizing people, is another important factor in facilitating effective interrelationships, since self-acceptance is closely related to acceptance of others. Corroborating these findings, Trowbridge (104) indicates that teachers with positive self-concepts generate a greater sense of self-worth in the students they teach. Warmth, genuineness, and openness are also necessary for successful communication (Combs, Avila, and Purkey 17). Cazden (14) finds that personal warmth and considerable amounts of verbal interaction are related. According to Combs, Avila, and Purkey (17), barriers to communication include threats, such as embarrassment or punishment, and narrowly conceived evaluation procedures that emphasize high grades rather than subject-matter understanding. They point out that certain "methods" may not work for some teachers because their personalities are not suited to them. More important than learning these "gimmicks" is accurate self-understanding and genuineness in relating to students.

Barriers to communication

Rogers (90) also advocates genuineness in communication to facilitate student learning. This includes sharing both negative as well as positive feelings; it does not include destructive criticism of students, but rather the teacher's expression of personal anger or frustration when appropriate. A successful teacher accepts, cares for, and trusts students. Nonevaluative understanding of students is of paramount importance in establishing successful learning situations.

Classroom characteristics that facilitate affective growth

Positive self-regard

Specific classroom characteristics may foster student development of positive self-regard and feelings of being worthy of respect. Barth (5) identifies several important factors: amount of choice and self-determination that the student experiences in class, opportunities to collaborate with peers, minimal competitive comparison with peers, and trust by adults. Rogers (90) emphasizes self-reliance and decision-making on the part of students as facilitative of learning and positive affective growth. Cazden (15) predicts from his findings that where students carry major responsibility for their activities, conversation takes place more often. Holt (46) distinguishes between freedom to make choices and permissiveness. No life within or outside the classroom lacks constraints, he asserts. What matters is the degree of freedom students have within broad basic limitations. He points out that the worst form of tyranny is one under which the power structure and laws are unclear. Class rules should be stated with sufficient precision so that students know what they mean. Students need to know what limits there are to their behavior; they want to know what they must do to get along well in the classroom. Specifying rules does not mean a restriction of student choices; rather, it clarifies the conditions under which choices are made.

Clearly stated class rules

The trust and respect of adults is important to all learners, but particularly so to adolescents. Solnit (97) recommends that adults respect the rebellious criticisms and assertions of adolescents. They should avoid the temptation to ignore adolescents because young people lack power. Instead, one should treat confrontations as opportunities for adolescents to function in adult-like encounters. Ignoring another person's point of view is similar to conveying to him the attitude that he is somewhat less than a full human being and that his ideas are worthless.

Such attitudes are often communicated in the classroom. Poveda (86), for example, finds that adults characterized adolescents as irresponsible in order to justify their control over them.

Rogers (89, 90) recommends intensive group experiences to facilitate affective growth of both students and teachers. Glasser (32) suggests class meetings during which the teacher leads discussions of problems of social responsibility and other issues relevant to students. Combs, Avila, and Purkey (17) also recommend group methods to develop helping relationships among students and between teachers and students.

In the area of foreign language teaching more attention is being focused on the relationship between the affective dimension of the student performance in it. The 1973 Northeast Conference Report (Dodge, 21) states that research data suggest a positive relationship between accepting supportive teachers and the achievements and positive attitudes of language learners. Student behaviors that can be influenced by the climate of the class include level of thinking, creativity, development of group processes and anxiety levels. The Report presents a tool for coding the interactions that take place according to the 34 categories and subcategories of the Flint System (pp. 28–29). Teachers may thus gain a more objective and precise idea of certain dimensions of the interaction in their classes. They can determine mathematically the amount of time students spend speaking the foreign language versus the amount spent listening to the teacher. They can learn whether they tend to use direct methods of influencing students, such as lecturing or orienting, giving directions, criticizing students, or justifying authority; or whether they tend toward indirect methods of influence, such as accepting student feelings, offering praise or encouragement, using students' ideas, and asking questions.

Flint System

Direct and indirect teacher influence

Wolfe and Smith (113) question the effectiveness of this approach, however. They point to the need to establish relationships between teacher interaction patterns and learner achievements in foreign language. They also consider the Flint System inappropriate to situations where instruction is individualized, since it focuses primarily on teacher behavior. The Northeast Conference Report, in turn, cites nine research studies where significant correlations between indirect teacher behaviors and student achievement have been found (p. 36). The Report also

Interaction analysis and individualized instruction presents a Student Observation Form (p. 44) designed to describe interaction in classrooms with individually prescribed instruction and a Student Activity Profile (p. 46) for use in describing classes where instruction is individualized through Learning Activity Packages. The unwieldiness, however, of the three observation systems mentioned would seem to preclude their widespread general use by teachers lacking specific and intensive training in the procedures.

Group processes in the classroom

Importance of understanding group processes

Classroom climate

As both individualized instruction and techniques of affective education spread to more and more foreign language classrooms, it becomes increasingly important for teachers to understand the group processes that affect the behavior and learning of students. Schmuck and Schmuck (94) present research findings of the past two decades that may be relevant to classroom teachers. They state that most research into classroom groups supports the view that a positive social climate among peers enhances student self-esteem and academic performance. The authors define *climate* as consisting of *what* activities carry out educational goals, *how* the curriculum and learning materials are used in human exchanges, and the style class members use in relating to each other. The essential variables that determine classroom climate are:

1 The ways in which leadership or interpersonal influence is exerted
2 What friendship patterns operate
3 Whether group norms work for or against educational goals
4 The types of communication patterns that occur
5 The cohesiveness among class members

Leadership patterns

Circular pattern of establishing esteem

Briefly, they find that classrooms possess more positive climates when leadership is exerted by many class members rather than by only a select few. Similarly, classroom groups having diffuse friendship patterns exhibit a more positive climate than those centrally structured. If classrooms are organized so that students feel liked and respected, they tend to behave in ways that make them worthy of the esteem of others. This circular process of establishing esteem can go on indefinitely: Positive self-esteem stimulates supportive responses from others that reinforce the original feeling of self-esteem. The pattern also holds true with negative feelings.

Flexible classroom norms

Since there are so many individual differences within each classroom, behavioral norms should be flexible and changeable. In classes with positive climates there is a broad range of tolerable behavior, and individual idiosyncracies are accepted. Communication patterns in such classrooms are characterized by large amounts of dialogue and feedback among members. Finally, cohesiveness resulting from dispersed friendship patterns is shown to be related to productivity, provided that group norms also support this goal. Further discussion of this topic as well as exercises designed to enhance one's effectiveness in groups may be found in Napier and Gershenfeld (79, 80).

Humanistic classroom management

Theory X and Theory Y management

Theory Y principles in foreign language classes

As knowledge of group processes has begun to influence classroom practices, the research findings of the 1950s and 1960s in the area of humanistic management have begun to make an impact on the ways teachers relate to students. Starting from Maslow's Basic Needs Theory, investigators sought to increase the work motivations of government and industrial employees by offering them not only the satisfaction of their lower physiological and safety needs—which in many instances were already largely fulfilled—but also gratification of their higher needs for love and belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization. Pioneers in this approach are Argyris (2), Drucker (22), Likert (65), and McGregor (75). McGregor's Theory X (negative and mistrustful) and Theory Y (positive and trusting) management styles have already been treated in this series by Wolfe and Smith (113, pp. 109–10) and also by Bockman and Bockman (8). Disick (19) believes that full application of Theory Y principles to foreign language classes—offering students wide learning choices, considerable decision-making powers, numerous opportunities for creative activities, and so on—may prove difficult in many instances. Should some or all students demonstrate their inability to learn effectively under Theory Y principles, she suggests two compromise procedures: Theory Y freedoms may be buttressed by Theory X limitations and coercions, or strict Theory X procedures instituted at the beginning of the year may give way to greater flexibility as students and teachers become more accustomed to working together. In any event, she recommends adherence to Theory Y, since this management philosophy offers greater potential for stimulating satisfaction in both learners and teachers.

Affective dimensions of foreign language learning

Although the importance of student attitudes and motivations in foreign language learning has been discussed (Hancock, 37), little has been written on what these motivations are, on what language learners are concerned with, and how these motivations can be integrated into a language curriculum.

Carney (13) proposes that too often the focus in intermediate classes is on the ability to speak, rather than the ability to communicate. Instead of only listening to teacher explanations, students need to communicate their ideas to others. They should be encouraged to share their daydreams, their imagination, and their fantasies, rather than merely supplying the one "right" answer that the teacher requires.

Communication in foreign language classes

Aronson (3) points to the importance of students' self-esteem needs in the foreign language classroom. He notes that a student may be able to reproduce foreign language sounds when imitating a foreigner speaking English but be incapable of doing so when called upon to speak the foreign language. A reason for this may be that the foreign pronunciation is viewed as "funny," and the student does not wish to associate himself with funny or mockable pronunciation except when he deliberately intends to amuse others. Therefore, in addition to dealing with the cognitive skill itself, teachers may have to consider student needs for self-esteem that are associated with pronunciation.

Pronunciation

Developing communicative competence

As a result of research studies, Savignon (93) concludes that student interest in foreign language learning appears to be primarily a function of past successes. To the extent that students perform well, they will want to continue. She suggests replacing some practice of artificially controlled drills and exercises with activities that permit students to communicate real ideas in authentic situations. Since practice in free communication forces students to step out from behind the shield of memorized or rigidly controlled responses and to express their own feelings, students may find themselves in a particularly vulnerable position. The threat that such a situation may create in one's native language is magnified when the means of communication is a foreign language. The abiding needs of adolescents for self-esteem and the esteem of others further increases the pressures on communicating freely. Savignon states that the teacher's ability to develop rapport with students as well as *among* students is a crucial factor in successfully developing communicative competence.

Affective goals in foreign language learning

The important affective dimension present in foreign language learning calls for a revision of curricular goals. In addition to establishing goals for student growth in acquiring knowledge and skills, teachers must set forth their aims for student development in the affective domain. A start has been made in this area. Valette and Disick (105) and Disick (20) have adapted the taxonomy created by Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (60) for use by foreign language teachers. Although Valette and Disick's identification of various stages in the progressive development of affect by students is useful, their work is limited by the fact that the ultimate thrust of the objectives they suggest is solely subject-matter achievement and not increased student growth as human beings. For example, the objectives they suggest for awareness include "awareness of foreign language and culture" (Valette and Disick, 105, p. 126). They do not mention awareness of one's own feelings or awareness of the emotional states of others. Student behaviors that demonstrate attentiveness consist essentially of fulfilling the obligations and assignments of the course (p. 126). The authors do not mention developing student ability to listen attentively to the problems and concerns of other people. Tolerance involves acceptance of foreign language and cultural patterns (p. 126). They omit the need for students to be tolerant of the differing opinions and values of the people with whom they come in contact. At the stage of interest and enjoyment, the authors suggest that students should experience satisfaction with their personal achievements in foreign language learning (p. 127). Although this goal is consonant with the humanistic concern for the development of positive self-images, it could be broadened to include satisfaction and pride in oneself as an inherently worthwhile human being, regardless of subject-matter achievement. The limitation of the goals that Valette and Disick pre-

Taxonomy of affective foreign language goals

Awareness

Attentiveness

Tolerance

Interest and enjoyment

sent is one Brown (12) mentions: Too often teachers use affective materials or techniques to "hook" the students into learning the subject matter. These teachers fail to realize that affective concerns are valuable in and of themselves and thus rightfully deserve a place in the curriculum. Their inclusion need not be justified by some ulterior cognitive aim. Despite the shortcomings of the goals, Valette and Disick suggest that their conceptual model and sequencing of affective behaviors is sound. A fruitful area of further professional activity could involve the development of foreign language teaching goals that encompass those of the affective education movement.

Need for further development

Programs of affective education

Affective education is primarily concerned with two areas: values clarification and human dynamics. Although these movements have emerged separately and are treated here as distinct entities, there is an increasing tendency to combine the techniques of both in programs of human development.

Values clarification

Cornerstone of values clarification is the classic work of Raths, Harmin, and Simon (87), who state that several kinds of problems existing in school and at home result in part from lack of strong values. Many students fail to actualize their potential abilities because they are not clear about the purpose of their lives and the goals that are worth achieving. As a result, they are apathetic, flighty, inconsistent, overconforming, or overdissenting. The assumption of the authors is that humans are capable of discovering their own values by a rational step-by-step procedure. Their hypothesis is that values clarification can lead to a more purposeful and productive existence.

Values clarification

As our technological society becomes more and more complex, as changes occur with increasing frequency, as the speed of transportation and communication continues to accelerate, the traditional institutions of home and school find their task of instilling worthwhile, stable, unchanging values ever more difficult. Raths, Harmin, and Simon point out the relative ineffectiveness of traditional means of values teaching: moralizing, laissez-faire, and modeling. When faced with conflicting and confusing data from parents, teachers, peers, and the me-

Ineffectiveness of traditional methods

dia, students require skills they can use to make intelligent value choices throughout their lives. Rather than teach values per se, the approach of values clarification is to teach the *process* by which one arrives at forming personal values. This process, which is set forth at length in Raths, Harmin, and Simon and concisely in Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (96), consists of seven sub-processes:

Values clarification process

- *Prizing* one's beliefs and behaviors
  - 1 prizing and cherishing
  - 2 publicly affirming, when appropriate
- *Choosing* one's beliefs and behaviors
  - 3 Choosing from alternatives
  - 4 Choosing after consideration of consequences
  - 5 Choosing freely
- *Acting* on one's beliefs
  - 6 Acting
  - 7 Acting with a pattern, consistency and repetition (p. 19).

Kirschenbaum (56) finds fault with several of these subprocesses and proposes another model that takes into account both the thinking and feeling aspects of the valuing process (pp. 105–06).

Based on consistent observations of young people's difficulties with values, leaders in values clarification conclude that moral confusion is growing in the United States. In a year dominated by news of scandalous disregard for law by members of our nation's highest legal and political circles, this statement takes on added relevance.

Values confusion

Human dynamics

Training in human dynamics includes, variously, the development of self-awareness and self-acceptance, sensitivity toward others, ability to establish trust and sharing, creation of positive self-concepts through discovery of one's strengths, establishment and maintenance of helping relationships, techniques of active listening, methods of verbalizing feelings and responding appropriately to the emotional needs of others, nonverbal communication skills, understanding of group processes, problem-solving, goal-setting, creativity, and therapeutic uses of fantasy. The psychological assumption underlying this move-

Psychological assumptions

ment is that each person has a basic need to actualize his innate human potential and is capable of doing so. Among its philosophic bases is the existential premise that man is a social animal who can find his identity and the meaning of his life only by interacting with other human beings. Schmuck and Schmuck (94, pp. 11–12) state that this premise is supported by some social psychologists who believe that human beings develop in a sequential and systematic way, not because of the successive unfolding of instinctual tendencies, but because during the course of their lives they experience a regular sequence of interactions with family, peers, friends, marriage partners, and children. These successive contacts are what mold the self. A goal of human dynamics training is to teach individuals to increase their interpersonal effectiveness.

Philosophic assumptions

Personality development through social interactions

Unlike values clarification, human dynamics is not a coherent movement with commonly accepted goals and practices, widely recognized leaders, and agreement on terminology used. It may therefore incorporate training in interpersonal effectiveness, group intraction, human development, achievement motivation, communication skills, human relations, real communication, sensitivity training, encounter-group therapy, personal growth groups, peer counseling, or a number of other activities whose inclusion depends upon the emphasis desired. Four different programs are briefly sketched here. Each provides a broad wealth of material suitable for adaptation to foreign language classes.

Human Development Program

The Human Development Program (Bessell and Palomares, 6) is unique in that it contains 20-minute daily lesson plans and sequential training exercises for students in kindergarten through twelfth grade. The three areas of experience that provide the thematic focus of the entire program are *awareness* (knowing one's thoughts and feelings), *mastery* (knowing one's abilities and how to use them), and *social interaction* (knowing how to relate effectively to other people). Based on the theories of child development and human personality set forth by Gesell, Anna Freud, Horney, Sullivan, Adler, and others, the program encourages students to share their feelings in a "magic circle." The sharing exercises build positive self-concepts by dispelling the myth of uniqueness that makes children feel their experiences are different from those of others and are therefore inferior. However, legitimate differences between individuals are brought out to develop tolerance. Reflective listening (repeating or paraphrasing what a person has said) builds feelings of confidence by demonstrating that the participants' ideas are worth remembering and bear repetition. Another unique aspect of the program is its provision for transferring group leadership from the teacher to students as young as six or eight years. Rating sheets for evaluating student development in the areas of awareness, mastery, and social interaction may be ordered along with the training materials.

PEER Program for Youth

The PEER Program for Youth (Hebeisen, 42) outlines activities for a weekend retreat and 10 follow-up workshop sessions that seek to develop self-esteem, self-understanding, and communication skills in teen-aged participants. Echoing the theme of the best-selling book by Harris (39), the program aims to instill feelings of being "OK," acceptable to oneself as well as to others. Minilectures are offered on sharing feelings, listening sensitively, building trust, perceiving oneself and others, counseling peers with problems, communicating personal feelings, and discovering one's own values. Workshop members practice setting goals for self-development and participate in role-playing and paired and small-group sharing as part of their training.

Reaching Out Program

Much of the material presented in Johnson's (54) Reaching Out Program was developed during a training project for teenagers and shares many of the goals outlined above, though the exercises and format are different. To promote interpersonal effectiveness and self-actualization, training activities center on self-disclosure, development and maintenance of trust, improving communication skills, verbal and nonverbal expression of feelings, helpful styles of listening and responding, acceptance of self and others, and solving problems and conflicts. Readers of the book may do the exercises as part of a formal group, or they may try out and practice the new techniques with friends or family.

Special features of the book are numerous self-tests and answer keys that provide useful feedback on mastery of the communication skills being developed. These skills were identified by the empirical research of the author and other persons identified in footnoted references.

Achievement motivation

Alschuler, Tabor, and McIntyre (1) present a workshop for teachers that can train them in teaching achievement motivation to their students. Based on a profile of high-achieving individuals presented in the research of McClelland (73, 74), the program trains participants in strategies needed for successful accomplishment: moderate risk-taking, use of feedback to modify goals, assumption of personal responsibility, and realistic evaluation of the environment. Extensive use of games provides concrete experiences of achievement strategies.

Affective education in foreign language classrooms

Although Love and Honig (66) cite only three programs that include affective components, many more foreign language teachers are now quietly experimenting in this area. Three published accounts are summarized here.

Real communication in Chagrin Falls, Ohio

At Kenston High School in Chagrin Falls, Ohio, the foreign language program incorporates the no-failure philosophy of Glasser (31), the human development techniques of Bessell and Palomares (6), the values clarification methods of Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (96), and the listening techniques of Gordon (35) to teach "real communication." Wilson and Wattenmaker (109) report significant increases in enrollments despite a statewide downward trend. They believe their program succeeds because failing grades are eliminated and because classroom experiences, which involve both learning a foreign language and learning about oneself, are relevant to the students' needs for becoming more aware of themselves, for interacting with other people, and for developing more positive self-concepts.

Group dynamics in Clarence Central High School

The student-centered classroom in Clarence Central High School, New York results from the teacher's application of the training in interaction analysis and group dynamics (Love and Honig, 66, pp. 215–25). In orientation meetings students' feelings toward language and toward others are explored. Small-group games enable students to become acquainted and to exchange feedback on their effectiveness in communicating. Program evaluations (Papalia and Zampogna, 82, 83) show a decrease in the attrition rate from levels three to four as well as more favorable attitudes toward the subject matter and the teacher.

Human Dynamics in Commack High School North, New York

The program of total immersion in foreign language learning at Commack High School North, New York includes among its numerous minicourses for third and fourth levels the study of human dynamics (Love and Honig, pp. 243–52). As described in the 1974 Northeast Conference Reports (99, pp. 87–95), the course consists of seven units: getting acquainted, developing trust and acceptance, self-discovery, values, reaching maturity, instilling concern for others, and issues and ideas. Human dynamics techniques are also incorporated in regular classes at lower levels. Students attest that their training is relevant and interesting because it enables them to use the foreign language to speak or write about their feelings as well as to share the ideas and experiences of their peers. This opportunity to communicate meaningfully is what language study is all about. Morel (77, 78) has published in French and Spanish many of the exercises in his human dynamics program.

Affective techniques in foreign language teaching

Over the past decade the large number of techniques developed for promoting affective growth have been freely borrowed and adapted by so many teachers, methodologists, and group leaders that their originators are largely unknown. The persons to whom a particular exercise is attributed here are not necessarily the originators, but they provide a comprehensible description for classroom implementation plus numerous examples of suitable topics and materials.

Since only a fraction of available affective techniques has been implemented in foreign language teaching, teachers wishing to expand their repertoires of effective methods are urged to read widely both within and outside the foreign language field. Readers interested in building a library of books in this area are encouraged to write for the catalogue of the Adirondack Mountain Humanistic Education Center (Upper Jay, New York 12987), which lists numerous publications available at reasonable cost.

Further reading

Values sheets

Values sheets as described in Raths, Harmin, and Simon (87, pp. 83–111) consist of a provocative statement or paragraph and a series of questions that lead each student through the steps of the value clarification process. For example, what is the student's reaction to the statement: Has he chosen his position freely? What other alternative positions might there

Values sheets

be? What are some consequences of his choice? Is he proud of his choice? Is he willing to affirm his position? Is there some action he would take as a result of the value he holds in this area? Are his actions consistent with his expressed values? Since valuing is an individual matter, each student writes his own answers before discussing them with other members of the class. Values sheets may be based on quotations from literature, current news stories, or cultural materials. The authors provide numerous examples of this exercise.

Values voting

Values voting

Values voting is a quick and simple procedure that enables students to affirm their beliefs on a number of topics. As presented in Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (96, pp. 38–57), Wolfe and Howe (111), and Wolfe, Howe, and Keating (112), the teacher reads to the class controversial statements, and students indicate by agreed-upon gestures whether their reaction is strongly favorable, neutral, negative, or strongly negative. An extremely useful list of statements is found in Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (96). This technique can be used for five or 10 minutes to identify areas of controversy that might be discussed profitably in class.

Rank order

Rank-order exercises

Rank order is an appropriate strategy for many levels of language instruction. Described by Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (96); Wilson and Wattenmaker (108); Wolfe and Howe (111); and Wolfe, Howe, and Keating (112), it provides students with practice in choosing from among alternatives and affirming their decisions. Two or more choices are proposed, and students must rank them in order of their preferences. For example, "Do you prefer to be alone, with friends, or with your family?" (Wilson and Wattenmaker, 108, p. 15). Beginning students can simply repeat the choices according to what they like best. More advanced students may explain their preferences, if they choose. Numerous examples of rank-order exercises are offered in the sources mentioned here. Highly interesting variations are "Either-or Forced Choice," "Forced Choice Ladder," "Values Survey," "Alligator River," "The Miracle Workers," "The Fall-Out Shelter Problem," and "Who's to Blame?" (Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum, 96).

Values continuum

Values continuum exercises

A values continuum demonstrates to students that issues are rarely all black or white; a variety of alternative positions are possible. Either on the board or on dittoed sheets students see a question or issue to which a wide range of responses might be made. For example:

Where are you on this line?
I know who I am ____________ I don't know who I am
(Wilson and Wattenmaker, 108; p. 5).
How far would you go to be popular with your group?
Do anything : : : : : : Do nothing at all
(Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum, 96, p. 120).

Students mark on the continuum the point which best represents their opinion. A discussion might follow, and students may once again indicate their positions and note if it has shifted.

Exercises in life examination

Life examination

The purpose of "Twenty Things I Like to Do" (Wolfe and Howe, 111) is to allow students to decide if the life they lead is consistent with their values system. Students list up to 20 of their favorite activities and next to each indicate information as to whether it is expensive, if they prefer doing it alone, if it involves physical or emotional risks, if it requires planning, and so on. As a follow-up activity Wolfe and Howe (111) suggest written or oral discussions of the students' findings. Exercises with a similar purpose of examining one's life and actions are "Getting Started," "Removing Barriers to Action," "Pattern Search," "Percentage Questions," "The Pie of Life," "Pages for an Autobiography," "Diaries," "Ready for Summer," "Epitaph," "Obituary," "Life Inventory," and "Life Line" in Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (96).

Incomplete sentences

Incomplete sentences and new grammar

Incomplete sentences present students with a sentence stem that they complete in their own words either orally or in writing. Wilson and Wattenmaker (108) use this technique effectively in practicing newly learned grammar. Sentence stems include: "I am . . ." (p. 9), "I believe . . ." (p. 18), "My parents told me to . . ." (p. 38), and "I'm happy that . . ." (p. 42). Gabriel (29) uses stems such as, "If I were the teacher of this class, I would . . . ," "I get angry when . . . ," and "What I do well is . . ."

Simon, Howe and Kirschenbaum (96) suggest that incomplete sentences may crystallize learning that has taken place in the group, summarize the results of the discussion, or indicate areas of further inquiry. Such sentences may begin, "I learned that . . . ," "I realized that . . ." (p. 163), or "I wonder . . ." (p. 166). Feelings of self-worth resulting from personal accomplishment can result from students' sharing their experiences in statements beginning with "I am proud that . . ." (p. 136).

Reflective listening

An activity often following incomplete sentences is reflective listening, also called active listening (Gordon, 35) and Rogerian listening. Once students in a group have responded to the discussion question or incomplete sentence, members repeat the statement already heard beginning with the word *you* and addressing themselves to the appropriate group member. Wilson and Wattenmaker (109) believe this technique is a valuable tool for becoming an accepting and less judgemental person.

Active listening

Human development program communication exercises

Wilson and Wattenmaker also adapt many of the discussion topics of the Human Development Program for use in the foreign language class. Students in circles of no more than 16 share their feelings and experiences on a variety of topics:

Sharing feelings and experiences

> Who do you know that makes you feel good? Does he or she know it (p. 18)?
>
> What do you want to do but don't know how? Are you going to learn (p. 19)?
>
> What are your mother's most frequent commands? How do you feel? What are my (teacher's) most frequent commands? How do they make you feel (p. 23)?
>
> What have you done that made someone feel bad, uncomfortable? What have I (. . . teacher) done that made you feel bad, uncomfortable (p. 32)?

These exercises and others are published in English and Spanish (Wilson and Wattenmaker, 108) and French (Stoller and Lock, 98).

Interview techniques

Interviews can take place in pairs, in small groups, or one student may be the focus of questions posed by classmates. Interviews help students become acquainted and offer opportunities to affirm beliefs. Interview questions can range from the fairly superficial to the highly personal. Wilson and Wattenmaker (108, p. 21) list questions ranging from "Do you watch television much? How much?" to "Do you believe in God?" The public interviews described in Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (96); Wolfe and Howe (111); and Wolfe, Howe, and Keating (112) center on the students' beliefs, values, and actions in areas such as church attendance and feelings about school.

Interview techniques

Potentially useful affective techniques

In addition to the exercises that have been adopted for use in foreign language teaching, many more exist that may prove valuable in developing self-understanding and interpersonal communication skills. Only a few of these are mentioned here to give teachers an idea of areas that deserve wider consideration and implementation than is now the case.

Gestalt exercises

Gestalt exercises help a person express conflicts that may be unresolved in his mind and thus divert his energies from ongoing activities. In "resent-demand-appreciate," students imagine they are talking to a person with whom they are angry. They express their feelings in a statement beginning, "I resent that you . . .". Next, they tell the person what he must do to remove the source of their grievance by saying, "I demand that you . . .". Finally, they express understanding of the other person's needs and his point of view in a statement that starts, "I appreciate that you . . .".

"Resent-demand-appreciate" exercise

In a fantasy exercise students imagine themselves as animals first, then as the person they most hate, and as the person they most like. They next imagine the three animals meeting and interacting. Students who wish to do so, share their fantasy

Fantasy exercise

with other group members (Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum, 96). A similar exercise is "Unfinished Business." At times students experience conflict within themselves. The "Chairs or Dialog with Self" is an exercise that permits students to identify various aspects of their nature, to accept them as part of themselves, and to arrive at some resolution of the conflict. Two chairs are set up facing each other. A student volunteer sits in the first chair and expresses the point of view of one side of his inner conflict. He then moves to the other chair and expresses the ideas of the opposing side. Class members may ask him questions to clarify his responses.

Expression of inner conflicts

Role-play

Role-play can help students develop abilities and skills they may not acquire under traditional methods of instruction. By assuming the role of another person, the actors can develop greater insight into others as well as a better understanding of their own behavior. Role-play situations may develop from interpersonal problems existing in the classroom or may serve to make the subject matter more alive and immediate. Hebeisen (42) offers situations that call for acting out ways in which students can help a friend with a personal problem. Chesler and Fox (16) provide samples of classroom role-playing and offer useful concrete advice for implementing this technique.

Purpose of role-play

Games and simulations

Although long popular in social studies, games and simulations are little used in foreign language classrooms. Alschuler, Tabor, and McIntyre (1) define games as activities characterized by rules agreed upon in advance, rules describing classes of behavior rather than specific acts, obstacles to be overcome, and a specified scoring system. Simulations, which involve assigning specific roles to participants who may interact only in well-defined ways in order to win points or other rewards, may be considered as specialized versions of games. Gordon (34) states that the novelty of games appeals to students and motivates them. They can enable participants to understand highly complex phenomena such as wars and alliances and enable them to increase their problem-solving and decision-making abilities. They are particularly effective in developing skills in interpersonal relations. Although the games Gordon describes deal mainly with social studies topics, her suggestions for classroom implementation and her bibliography and list of sources are quite valuable. Boocock and Schild (9) offer additional information in the area of simulations.

Krupar (61) presents games that teach students or teachers-in-training how to improve their communication skills. Three simulations are of particular interest: In one players must act according to the cultural traits characterizing citizens of two conflicting countries. A simulation in international negotiations requires bargaining and trading to secure or promote the differing national interests of each of seven countries. Participants in the linguistic and cultural simulation become aware of difficulties in crosscultural understanding by communicating only through fixed channels in a rebus writing code that differs structurally from one country to the next.

Simulation exercises

Management of affective learning activities

Activities that promote human growth must not be confused with psychotherapy. They are not intended to treat problems of the deeply disturbed, nor can they replace the help of professionally trained personnel. Although a sensitive teacher can contribute to the positive emotional development of his students, there are limits to what he can accomplish. Since most teachers lack extensive psychiatric training, there *must* be limits on what is said and done in the classroom. Those who are practiced in leading affective activities offer ways of ensuring that class discussions do not go so far as to arouse uncontrolled students' feelings, to expose extremely personal problems, or to cause pain or embarrassment.

Affective education vs. psychotherapy

Limiting the scope of affective exercises

Wolfe and Howe (111) suggest that students be allowed not to participate if they prefer and not to answer questions in matters they consider too personal. Students may request that the teacher answer any questions asked of him or her. Wilson and Wattenmaker (108) make sure that the nature of the information shared is commensurate with the trust level established among group members. They progress from students' observations and experiences to their beliefs and dreams. Chesler and Fox (16) consider a supportive, nonjudgemental atmosphere of utmost importance to successful group experiences. Students are most likely to share feeling and ideas when they know they

Supportive atmosphere

will not be subjected to destructive criticism. The discussion may therefore be limited only to positive comments with no negative remarks permitted. Hebeisen (42) recommends that the group leader intercede to reestablish a positive focus should a discussion turn into a "slam" session. An effective leader should at all times be alert to signs of psychological pressure in any participant and take steps to head off remarks that might cause hurt feelings or embarrassment (Chesler and Fox, 16). Lyon (67) cautions against using affective activities to manipulate students or their feelings to serve the teacher's own personal needs. The session can be prevented from becoming overly psychoanalytic if the focus is maintained on feelings in the "here and now," rather than on past experiences and relationships. These rules of politeness, respect, and consideration for the feelings of others are basically the same as those that guide daily conversations among acquaintances. Two very practical sources of information for the teacher on these matters are Ginott (30) and Disick (19), who has adapted Ginott's ideas for the foreign language teacher.

Pro's and con's of affective education

As a new movement, affective education is not without its critics. For example, *Time* (100) reports that on a televised talk show Martha Mitchell, wife of the former Attorney General, attacked the nation's schools for being overly psychoanalytic. To those who feel that students' feelings are not part of the business of schools, Bessell and Palomares (6) reply that emotions are no more exotic or pathological than arms and legs. Just as parents and teachers are capable of taking ordinary precautions to ensure children's physical safety, they are equally capable of taking preventative measures to safeguard positive emotional development. Obviously, serious physical injuries call for specialized treatment by medical experts. Similarly, severe emotional disturbances fall outside the domain of classroom responsibility.

Schools overly psychoanalytic

Bessell and Palomares believe that teachers who claim that dealing with emotions should be reserved for professional therapists may be expressing their own sense of inadequacy and lack of confidence in their ability to relate to students as human beings. The authors state that it takes a year to acquire full com-

Affective techniques not suited to all teachers

Student criticism

petence in conducting their Human Development Program and acknowledge that the methods are not suitable to the personalities and needs of all teachers. No teacher should be required to participate in their program if he or she does not wish to. Another fear that teachers express is that students will become openly and uncomfortably critical of schools and teachers as a result of affective training. While Bessell and Palomares freely admit that this is possible, they state that students have *always* challenged schools through inarticulate rebellion, sabotage, and subtle refusal to cooperate. However, students trained to be self-aware, articulate, and self-confident will not respond in destructive ways.

Time to teach basic skills

Affective and subject-matter training

Among language teachers an objection to dealing with students' concerns in the classroom is that there would not be enough time left to teach basic skills. Calling this the "coverage syndrome" characteristic of "factory education," Wolfe and Howe (111) state that this attitude is inappropriate in an era of declining foreign language enrollments. In the 1970s students will not tolerate the feeling of being processed on an assembly line and will choose instead to reject foreign language learning if it proves irrelevant to their lives. Another response to the "coverage syndrome" may be to point out the numerous programs across the country–both those described in the literature and those that have not yet been publicized–where time has been found to meet both the affective needs of students and the requirements of the subject matter. In fact, these apparently conflicting necessities have been shown to work in concert rather than against each other. Dealing with students' concerns has increased mastery of foreign language skills, and improved language skills have enabled students to deepen their understanding of themselves.

Behaviorally stated affective goals

Measuring affective learning

Another criticism of affective education centers on the fact that its goals are not usually stated in behavioral terms that permit objective measurement of whether or not they are achieved (Simon, Kirschenbaum, and Howe, 96). When presented with a goal such as "to educate the whole person" (Brown, 12), it is difficult to create valid measurement instruments. Jencks (53); Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (60); and Weinstein and Fantini (106) all acknowledge that noncognitive goals are exremely difficult to measure. According to Wright and Doxsey (116), however, this is insufficient reason to disregard the important area of affective learning. They suggest that measurement should be criterion-referenced rather than norm-referenced. While criterion-referenced data focuses on whether prestated outcomes have been achieved, norm-referenced data merely compares the performance of students. Some movement toward stating affective goals behaviorally is evidenced by the rating scale Bessell and Palomares (6) provide for evaluating student development of awareness, mastery, and social interaction.

Criterion-referenced measurement

Perhaps the major criticism of affective education is that it is as yet unproved in widespread classroom use. Although an impressive amount of research data is available on the effectiveness of small-group and encounter-group learning (Rogers, 91, 92), peer counseling (Johnson, 54), values clarification (Raths, Harmin, and Simon, 87), humanistic management (Drucker, 22; Likert, 65; McGregor, 75), group processes (Schmuck and Schmuck, 99), and achievement motivation (McClelland, 73, 74), most of these have been gathered in controlled laboratory situations rather than in classrooms. Furthermore, many of the people responsible for implementing the procedures were trained in psychology or sociology; few, if any, were classroom teachers.

Lyon (67) states that affective education lacks a sound theoretical base, and little research exists to prove, disprove, or improve the effectiveness of its techniques. Much of the data presented in support of humanistic techniques consist of glowing testimonials based on individual teachers' experiences (Borton, 10; Brown, 12; Lyon, 67; Rogers, 90; and Weinstein and Fantini, 106). Nevertheless, lack of more concrete evidence need not deter experimentation by teachers interested in applying affective techniques in their classrooms. Unless teachers risk experimentation, little can be learned about the potential value of new techniques. While the security of accustomed methods of instruction appears attractive, the successful incorporation of affective techniques into the foreign language curriculum can offer even greater rewards and satisfactions to teachers and to their students.

Testimonials to affective education

Need for experimentation

Summary

1 In our increasingly complex society purely cognitive learn-

ing is inadequate for preparing students to meet their lifelong emotional needs.

2 Since the late 1960s more and more educators have called for humanistic, or affective, education to meet these needs.

3 Goals of affective education include self-knowledge, the discovery of one's identity and purpose in life, improved interpersonal communication, and clarification of one's values.

4 Tension, unrest, violence, and moral confusion in our society point to the need for devoting greater attention to the affective domain.

5 Affective education has been virtually ignored in schools because teaching concrete facts is simpler than dealing with students' feelings. The scientific orientation of our society also tends to exalt the intellect at the expense of emotions.

6 Numerous research studies show that thinking and feeling are inextricably intertwined. Whether teachers are willing to admit it or not, emotion is ever-present in the classroom. It cannot be totally suppressed without attendant negative consequences.

7 A curriculum of affect is based on students' concerns. Both subject-matter content and skills are enlisted to aid students in overcoming their anxieties relating to self-image, their relationships to others, and control over their lives.

8 The major psychological basis of affective education is Maslow's theory of basic human needs: for physiological comfort, safety, love and belongingness, self-esteem and the esteem of others, and self-actualization.

9 Self-actualization refers to an innate drive to realize in actuality what a person may potentially be. It is a drive toward goodness, creativity, and healthy relationships with oneself and others.

10 Adolescent learners are involved in a search for self-identity. Teachers may exercise considerable influence on them during this developmental period.

11 Successful teachers possess empathy, sensitivity to students, and the ability to accept them.

12 Classroom characteristics that promote affective growth

provide for student choice and self-determination, clearly defined rules and procedures, and a generally cooperative, noncompetitive atmosphere.

13 Teachers must understand the group processes operating in their classrooms. The type of leadership, friendship, pattern group norms, communication patterns, and cohesiveness that exist in the class can profoundly affect its learning climate.

14 Research evidence indicates that foreign language learning consists of both cognitive and affective elements that must be considered in developing instructional strategies.

15 Several foreign language programs have incorporated affective education. Techniques have been adapted from the values clarification and human dynamics movements.

16 Leadership of affective activities requires the teacher to be sensitive to students' reactions. No one should be forced to participate, and precautions should be taken to avoid pain or embarrassment to participants.

17 Affective education is most definitely *not* a substitute for psychotherapy.

18 Major criticisms of affective education include the inability of average teachers to deal with student feelings, the absence of clearly stated behavioral goals in the affective domain, and the lack of research data on the effectiveness of this approach.

Noncomprehensive list of workshops offering affective training

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1 Achievement Motivation Program, W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation, 111 East Wacker Drive, Suite 510, Chicago, Illinois 60601.

2 The Adirondack Mountain Humanistic Education Center, Springfield Road, Upper Jay, New York 12987.

3 Center for Studies of the Person, 1125 Torrey Pines Road, La Jolla, California 92037.

4 Development Research Associates, Inc., 1218 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

5 Esalen Institute, Big Sur Hot Springs, Big Sur, California 93920.

6 Human Development Training Institute, 4455 Twain Avenue, Suite H, San Diego, California 92120.

7 National Training Laboratories Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1201 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

8 Parent Effectiveness Training Courses and Teacher Effectiveness Training, Effectiveness Training Associates, 110 South Euclid Avenue, Pasadena, California 99101.

9 Real Communication in Foreign Language. Beverly Wattenmaker, 4162 Giles Road, Chagrin Falls, Ohio 44022. Virginia Wilson, P. O. Box 1310, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701.

10 Seminar House, Upper Black Eddy, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

11 Social Dynamics Inc., 335 Newbury St., Boston, Massachusetts.

12 Values Clarification Workshops, Values Associates, Box 43, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.

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8

Testing as communication

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Communication in its most simplistic form is the exchange of information by two parties. A message is transmitted by one party and received by the other. The receiver processes the information received and either initiates some action or responds verbally to the sender. Communication between the two parties is a continuous loop.

A teaching-learning loop

Testing is the vital ingredient in a continuous teaching-learning loop. Using the feedback concept with regard to testing, however, raises a number of fundamental questions: With whom does a test communicate? How does it communicate? What are the messages that it communicates? What are the effects of testing on the persons with whom it communicates? What are its implications for the foreign language program and curriculum? How do receivers of information respond to the message and communicate with the tester? This chapter is not designed to answer all of these questions, but through examination of recent research, testing is shown to communicate a great deal of information and the feedback loop, if it is continuous, is shown to imply that the test, as well as the curriculum, will change in response to feedback.

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Norm-referenced and criterion-referenced tests: What do they communicate?

Any test communicates something to students. Every test, however, communicates a different message, depending on the purpose for which it is intended.

The norm-referenced test

The norm-referenced test, which compares a student's achievement with that of other students completing the same material or completing a level in a language course (in the case of standardized tests), often communicates to a student messages about his worth, his ability to keep up with his class, or his effort and "application to his work." The student receives the message "You are inferior," or "You're just average," or "You are really mediocre!" and responds by hating Spanish or dropping the course. If the message is "You're great!" he tries even harder to please the teacher, to learn the material, or to seek repeated reinforcement from tests. To the teacher it can communicate messages about the extent to which students have learned what he expected them to learn. Or it can tell him to what extent his students mastered a body of material that is considered "normal" for students to have learned after "X" years of study. It can also tell him how to rank the students in his class for the purpose of assigning grades. To the teacher and the administrator it communicates messages about the progress of students in a class or school in comparison to past or present students in other classes at the same school or at other schools.

The criterion-referenced test

The criterion-referenced test is part of a system that includes clearly specified objectives, development of processes (tasks) for meeting those objectives, and measurement of the extent to which the student has met the objectives. The system includes constant check points at which progress is analyzed and feedback is given so that the student may either continue along a continuum toward meeting the objectives or be branched toward those kinds of learning activities that will fill in the "gaps." The evaluation-feedback loop is continuous and vital, and it includes provisions for change through feedback to the teacher.

Testing in a traditional program

This model of a system differs greatly from more traditional situations in which a student works to fulfill a textbook writer's or a teacher's expectations, after which he is assessed by an end-of-unit test on which he is rated "A" or "S+" (or 90 percent or 71½ percent) based on results on the same test by other students. The teacher then begins a new unit of study through which every student passes, whether or not he knows what was in the last unit the teacher "covered." Test results are entered in a gradebook and averaged with other test grades and quiz results. The numerical average is weighted by judicious application of motivation indexes, student recitation, and so on. The final result is a "grade" or label, which conveys to the student and other recipients of the benefits of schooling—parents, principals, "cume folders," employers—the kind of student of French or German with whom they are dealing. The student can be compared with all other students who have studied French or German in order that decisions may be made about matters such as employment and entrance into college.

A "rejection" system

Upshur (125) describes a questionable but far too common language-learning system in which a test given at the end of the first year of an audiolingual course determines who shall go into the second year; 50 percent are admitted. At the end of the second year the best 50 percent are admitted into the third-year reading course. The tests used in the courses are used simply to determine which students have aptitude for further language study. The system, he concludes, denies the use of testing results for changing the program, since it requires that the tests result only in rejection decisions. He further concludes that teachers in such a system tend to teach the upper half of the class, since they are the ones who will need to pass the test—the "poor" students will not pass in any case, since half must fail! Upshur recommends instead a system in which change is inherent, in which the teacher is constantly a student, learning from feedback responses of subjects and changing his own patterns of behavior appropriately.

Testing in an "individualized" program

The criterion-referenced test is a means by which the teacher in an individualized classroom can assess the feedback responses of his students. The construction of such tests depends upon a careful task analysis in which test items are directly keyed to objectives. Housden and LeGear (57) identify six types of criterion-referenced instruments now being used in individualized programs, including objective tests (but obviously not all objective tests are criterion-referenced), task analysis charts, self-rating checklists, diagnostic inventories, problem identification checklists, and anecdotal situation quizzes, all of which give valuable feedback to the teacher about the progress of students toward meeting objectives. Some would argue that inventories and checklists are inappropriate in a section devoted to testing, but if tests are to measure progress toward objectives, the record-keeping apparatus clearly is involved.

Daily feedback system

Clark (31) reviews the need for constant formative evaluation in individualized programs in the form of progress tests, quizzes, checklists, and other means by which teachers and students can obtain feedback on daily progress. Teachers must, for the most part, continue to produce their own, despite the tremendous burden it places upon them.

Computerized test item pools

Since Clark's plea for computerized pools of test items for use in individualized programs and for development of diagnostic tests by major publishers, few such aids have appeared. Carroll (27) agrees that demands for valid and reliable test items will increase and urges that adequate means should be mobilized to meet the demand head-on. Lippey (72) reports nearly 100 computerized *item collections* now in use, containing from a few hundred to thousands of items, especially in mathematics and social studies and to a lesser extent in the language arts. *Item generation,* in which a basic skeleton of information is stored in the computer for instant generation of test items, has also been implemented. In both cases test items can be printed out directly onto reproduction masters in one or several scrambled versions. Such tests have several advantages: There is no security problem; they are error-free; there is little clerical slip-up; makeup tests are facilitated; and it is relatively easy to produce different examinations for each student.

Buckley-Sharp (25) reports wide use of computer-based tests in medical schools in the United Kingdom. A bank, which includes objectives and questions, is also in service at the school for the Belgian Air Force, at Soffraenberg, Belgium. After it has been fully developed, the student, at a computer terminal, can request testing on any topic, at any level, according to objectives he specifies, within certain limits. It seems difficult to imagine a computer using any items except what are now "paper and pencil" techniques for reading and writing–and possibly for listening–in the foreign language field. Sound production and oral communication skills seem to be almost impossible to test via computer. A further problem resides in the choice of vocabulary, structure, and other content used in test items. The latter problem seems more readily soluble than the former, however.

Personal item banks

Until computerized banks become operational for foreign language test items, Carroll (27) recommends that teachers maintain their own item banks. Brown (24) keeps a revolving file of test questions on 3- x 5-inch index cards. He can shuffle and select random items that are different for each student; he can also use item analysis to eliminate poor questions. Reinert (96) makes the same suggestion.

Minimum performance levels

O'Meara (89) suggests that testing would be improved by identifying "minimal performance requirements." He indicates a "natural hierarchy of linguistic elements" that should be isolated for instruction at each level and agreed upon by all staff members. These linguistic elements would be required for minimum performance levels to ensure that "if and when [the student] passes them, he will be able to perform properly at the next level" (p. 66). He further states that giving grades to students would thus be simplified. The "natural hierarchy" is appealing because of the simplification of problems it implies. But while a hierarchical introduction of linguistic elements may be necessary (textbook writers have always assumed that it is; research has never shown that it is), mastery of such elements does not necessarily lead to communication. Courses built around such tests are likely to reflect a "piecemeal" approach and neglect integrative skills.

The California State Advisory Committee on Foreign Languages (43, p. 42) suggests the use of "Proficiency steps" rather than levels, which it states will help teachers isolate behavioral objectives. The guidelines suggested add to the designation of the grammatical or cultural focus, a description of topical content, and "a description of the student performance that is to demonstrate achievement of the proficiency step, including a specification of the language skill[s] involved." Such objectives form the basis for criterion-based test items.

Criterion-referenced test limitations

Gronlund (54) cautions that criterion-referenced tests are suitable for some types of learning, but they are not always so suitable for "developmental" learning tasks, those that move beyond the minimum required essentials. Objectives in the developmental area are more difficult to specify, and the assignment of specific learning tasks to them is more problematic in the "mastery" area. They are often never *completely* achieved.

Developmental objectives emphasize understandings, applications, and integrated tasks whose isolated skills are difficult to pinpoint; communication in a foreign language is clearly such an "integrated task." He warns that reduction of all teaching and testing to the mastery level neglects the more complex learning outcomes. He suggests that outcomes to be tested be chosen because of their educational importance and not merely because they are easy to test; a corollary is that future learning experiences should be considered because knowledge that is not used to develop more complex skills is soon forgotten. Foreign language teachers might consider his admonitions; our individualized programs, which have tended to be *self-paced,* may tend to emphasize the simplest skills, neglecting the more difficult-to-measure integrated language tasks. Gronlund also urges that criterion-referenced tests be interpreted cautiously. Failure to master an objective could reside in the teaching, in the items on the test, in the standard of mastery, or in the original objective; and all of them involve teacher judgment.

Curriculum development models

Mehrens and Lehmann (75) warn that "unanticipated outcomes" must also be taken into account. In a curriculum model in which objectives and evaluation are described and then tasks are chosen to help students meet the objectives, the tasks may involve students in activities that have "unanticipated outcomes." Because they are unanticipated, such outcomes are not evaluated. The outcomes are possibly the result of the complexity of the "traditional" developmental model, which separates the cognitive, the psychomotor, and the affective domains. Clifford (33) has developed a three-dimensional "Curriculum Development Matrix," which accounts for learning tasks that may meet objectives at different levels in two or more domains simultaneously. According to the model, after initial objectives are identified and evaluation is planned, the three-dimensional viewpoint allows the curriculum planner to choose the most efficient tasks–those that can meet several objectives at different contributing levels simultaneously. The use of such a model enables the teacher, after the task has been planned to meet specified objectives, to discover "hidden" objectives *so that they may also be evaluated.* The hidden objectives often lie in the affective domain, so an important implication of this type of curriculum planning is that there will be more focus on that domain than is found in other curriculum models.

Contracts in individualized programs

Contracts are commonly used in individualized programs in foreign languages. In its guide for the preparation and use of student contracts the California State Advisory Committee on Foreign Languages (43) includes specification of the objectives, conditions under which performance takes place and the standards by which the objectives will be evaluated. Since contracts are recommended for advanced levels only, the Committee includes developmental aspects as well as the "mastery" areas. Some contracts are "evolved" by students, while others are prepared by teachers. Bockman and Bockman (13) warn, however, that the contract invariably threatens to be dehumanizing if it involves any standardized instrument or procedure. Elsewhere Bockman (11) recommends a *process* for contracting (as distinct from *contract writing*) that removes the dominance of the teacher while it preserves his accountability. The process also accommodates the "preparation, motivation, and pacing needs of the learner," and promotes excellence of achievement "absolutely and in terms of individual capability" (p. 120). Like the California framework, Bockman does not specify how students will be evaluated. Bockman and Bockman (13) warn, instead, that "the contractual process will be frustrated by imposition of arbitrary and capricious constraints, unilateral imposition of conditions of evaluation, and, of course, failure to secure genuine and mutual agreement on objectives" (p. 364). By implication, then, the most important aspect of contract-writing with a student is the determination by teacher and student *together* of how progress toward meeting the objectives specified in the contract will be evaluated. Valette and Disick (131) offer samples of learning contracts and a description of the contracting procedure that might answer some of Bockman and Bockman's objections. Their contracts offer considerable freedom of choice for the student while still specifying final outcomes. Unfortunately flexibility comes only in "Extra-Credit Communication Assignments," while required tests are rigidly specified by the teacher.

Contracting "process"

Humanizing evaluation

Georgiades (46) also expresses concern for the dehumanizing effect of evaluative procedures in individualized programs and suggests asking a number of questions about evaluation in such programs including examination of whether evaluation begins with diagnosis, whether it measures the process as well as the product, whether the student has a role in evaluation, whether it helps him to build a positive self-image, whether it includes affective as well as cognitive measures, whether it helps develop future self-evaluation, whether it helps in recognition of "different learning objectives for different students," and whether it deals with "*how* as well as *what* students think" (p. 40). She concludes that individualized instruction without truly individualized evaluation procedures goes only halfway toward meeting student needs.

In intermediate French classes at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, "evaluation sessions," in which the student participates on a one-to-one basis, supplement other kinds of grading and test procedures (for the most part normative) (Everett, 41). Everett concludes that ". . . in very human terms there is no substitute as a grading aid" (p. 995).

Aptitude tests: An aid to grouping?

Carroll (28) suggests research on using foreign language aptitude tests to set up class sections that will proceed at different rates or to provide modified groups in individualized programs, the test being used as a predictor of the rate at which a student can master the language. He also suggests that the same test could be norm-referenced or criterion-referenced, depending on how the score is interpreted and used (Carroll, 27). It is criterion-referenced if the teacher examines the competencies needed for that score without considering other individuals who took the test. Such a test, however, must contain information that enables one to interpret competencies and behaviors. One drawback in the use of norm-referenced tests in this manner is that items have been selected for the test because of their discriminating power; items which everyone could answer are not included. Hence, the score may not adequately reflect what the student *can* do. A further difficulty is that the precise identification of the competencies required for each item is risky.

Airasian and Madaus (1) also warn that criteria for mastery of a skill are difficult to determine, and they urge research into standards for determining "levels of adequacy for criterion behaviors" (p. 83). At the present moment in foreign languages as well as in other subject areas, such standards are rather arbitrarily determined by a teacher, for example, "The student attains a score of 80 percent."

Teacher expectancies

Valette (128) urges that positive teacher expectancies are crucial for improvement of language teaching; such positive feelings can be the result of "actually mastering a second language rather than being slowly engulfed by the rising tide of incomprehension" (pp. 72–73). Criterion-referenced testing clearly would give such positive feedback to the teacher, in Valette's view, for the teacher would see most students performing at a level of at least 80 percent most of the time, rather than seeing some students performing poorly and some performing well all the time.

Both norm- and criterion-referenced tests have a place in language programs, and there may be dangers in placing sole reliance on any one way of testing. Teachers should remember that the actual content of the two kinds of tests may not always differ substantially; the interpretation given to the test and the use made of the scores determine the kind of test it is. Both types can contribute to communication with students, parents, teachers, program evaluators, and the community because they yield different kinds of information.

The problems of testing in individualized programs have not been solved. A need continues for both a means by which a teacher can go to a computer bank or otherwise easily obtain test items for routine daily quizzes and progress checks so that each teacher does not have to spend more time item writing than managing the other aspects of the program. Also still open to question is whether foreign language teachers are actually testing *language* progress, including all four skills and the ability to integrate the skills or whether they are concentrating on those parts of language that are easiest to isolate and thus to teach and test in individualized programs. A further unanswered question is whether the testing process is "individualized" or simply self-paced. When he is ready does each student take tests by himself over the same material that is being tested for everyone else, or is the test "personalized," made-to-order for what may be personalized objectives in the program through which he works? If a test-item bank ever does become operational for foreign language study, teachers will be able to spend more time personalizing the teaching and testing programs. Wood (135) suggests that using a computer can go beyond simply forming an item bank. He has identified a number of similar systems (variously called programmed testing, branched testing, sequential-item testing, tailored testing, and dynamic or adaptive testing) he calls Response-Contingent Testing which can identify the precise range of a student's mastery

Response-Contingent Testing

more clearly than other evaluative procedures. The computer tailors the test to the student's actual ability. With preliminary information about his level, the computer presents an item with which he has 50 percent chance of success. According to the outcome, successive items are given, the computer adjusting the level downward or upward depending on whether the item is answered correctly or missed. The computer stops when student responses indicate that his level can be ascertained with reasonable certainty. Wood sees the application of Response-Contingent Testing to individualized learning systems and predicts that it may not cost so much as some fear once initial hardware purchase is discounted. *Using* a computer to administer tests (of cognitive skills at least) might be considered at the high school level for foreign languages, especially in schools that already have computer terminals for other purposes, thus freeing the teacher for more "humanized" testing concerns.

Testing oral communication

Three domains linked

Bauer (7) sees the three domains–cognitive, psychomotor, and affective–irrevocably linked in speech production if one is to go beyond parrotting and simple manipulations. "We may hypothesize that the learner is unable to develop his psychomotor skills in communication beyond single-item manipulation unless the cognitive and affective levels are developed to an appropriate degree" (p. 188). The language learner's principal task, in this view, is to form "learning sets" in all domains, attempting to integrate, pattern, and retain motor behaviors. Testing would be on the basis of performance criteria that include reaction time, speed of delivery, accuracy, and meaningfulness of a response, all of which constitute the automaticity of responses and comprehension, and three integrative factors: selection of the appropriate cue for orientation of a response in complex tasks (in which credit would be given for responses in English), consistency or steadiness in the psychomotor factors listed above, and meaningful coordination of connected speech. He also would include nonverbal responses in the learning process.

Communication as "top goal"

Dykstra (40) pleads for "congruency" of goals and testing procedures and cites lack of such congruency as a reason for aimless testing in many classes. He sees communication as the "top goal" and insists that this top goal be included in the testing and teaching program because there is adequate assessment of only linguistic details but not of authentic communication if such congruency is not accounted for. Like Rivers (104) and Savignon (110), he suggests that such goals can be set up, taught for, and tested or measured at every stage of instruction, including the most elementary. Production of new teaching and testing materials is a *sine qua non* of such goal-testing congruency, however. Noss (81) would agree with Dykstra that if a goal of a language course is communication, the teacher must *teach* communication and *test* it, and the student must *learn* communication and *demonstrate* it. The job of the course developer or test constructor is to find ways to assimilate all the goals into the program. Noss posits a grid-type classification device, with the four skills as one dimension and six further variables–content difficulty; distortion, noise, legibility of writing; speed; dialects or variant forms; register and style; and degree of comprehension or appropriateness of expression–in the other dimension. He rejects the view that overall language skill is impossible to define behaviorally, citing as avenues to explore questions such as: At what level of content difficulty? With how much allowable distortion? At what speed? He also asks for "objective written tests on total language behavior, rather than discrete-item testing, especially at lower levels" (p. 205).

Teach for communication

Davies (36) also pleads for unity of instructional and testing objectives. However, he concludes that the only skills that can really be tested well are receptive skills. Nevertheless, he rejects the view that since production cannot easily be tested teachers need not worry about teaching it. "Production *must* be taught, whether testable or not." The crux of the problem, he concludes, is that we do not yet know enough about language itself. "So long as we cannot specify what it is the native speaker knows, then we have a difficult job" (p. 209). Rivers (103) also questions the view that language teachers must wait for complete theories about language or language learning before beginning to teach or test communication. If this were the case, we would "be forced to give up all activity in language teaching" (p. 28), a view set forth by Jakobovits (60) as well. According to Carroll (27, p. 9), however, it is "more efficient and useful" in the long run to assess carefully *basic* language competences by tradi-

Receptive skills easier to test

Test **basic** *language competence only?*

tional means (in discrete-point tests, for example). He would not hold a language teacher responsible "if a student possessed of all of the basic language competences fails to use them in practical situations."

Civil Service definitions

Jones (64) outlines U.S. Government approaches to language proficiency and examines closely the Civil Service definitions of such proficiency in reading, listening, and speaking. The chief problem, in his view, is that of constructing tests that "measure language ability accurately enough to correspond to these definitions" (p. 6). No validation studies have been made with the definitions as a basis, he reports. Clark (32), Jones (64), and Wilds (132) report that the oral proficiency interviews used at the Foreign Service Institute and at the CIA Language School are, however, reliable and serve as good predictors for language skill levels needed on the job in Government service.

Communication as a motivating device

Brière (21) cites research in which physiological arousal as indicated by heart rate, galvanic skin response, and breath rate was measured as students attended class periods containing normal conversation and pattern practice. Peaks of arousal occurred during normal conversations, but responses were so flat during a pattern practice that no learning at all was suspected. The response became even lower as the pattern practice continued through the seventh reading. Elsewhere Brière (20) points out that any breakthrough in testing communicative competence must be a joint effort of sociolinguists to identify what to teach and what to test "in order to provide new and exciting teaching materials and methods and truly valid test instruments to evaluate communicative competence" (p. 391).

Communication test formats

Clark (30) echoes Brière's plea for development of such tests. He describes three formats: straightforward conversation, interpretive situations, and communicative assignments. As he points out, any of them would be subject to many problems in the high school situation because of difficulties of scoring. He also suggests correlation of well-known standardized tests with some direct tests of communicative competence to establish the validity of standardized tests as measures of overall competence. He cites three disadvantages in using the standardized test to measure communicative competence even after high correlations have been established: The correlations would have to be practically perfect or else interpreted as probabilities; if the language or other background of the student group is radically

Standardized tests for communication?

different from that of the original testing group, the statistical correspondences may not be accurate; and indirect tests of proficiency are not realistic measures of communication. Clark concludes that a *direct* test of communicative competence is essential.

Correlation studies

Two related correlation studies by James (61) and Jorstad (65) correlated the *MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Proficiency Tests* (Form HA) in French and German respectively with results of senior-year student teachers on random samples of videotapes made during microteaching sessions. The tapes were rated by native speakers of French and German only as to whether prospective teachers transmitted a message in the classroom without regard for vocabulary, structures, or errors. Correlations were made with the entire MLA test, with portions of the speaking test, and with the entire speaking test. Further correlations in the French study were made with a tape-recorded interview with each student. In French correlations reached .69 with the MLA total scores and .80 with the "speaking about pictures" section of the speaking test, all highly significant. German correlations were less conclusive. The studies involved only 20 subjects for French and 12 subjects for German, however. In general, both authors conclude, the MLA tests do seem to measure some of the kinds of *total* language competence needed by teachers of foreign languages. But the correlations do not nearly approach the "perfect" range desired by Clark for such measures to substitute for the direct measures.

Teaching for communication

Learner personalities

Rivers (103) posits two types of language-learner personalities. *A* is submissive and malleable and does whatever he is told. *B* asserts his individuality. Rivers suggests devising entire new programs aimed at Personality *B* so that he can give his imagination full rein. She then contrasts *A* and *B* activities:

Type-A Expansion Exercise:
Basic frame: He goes to town.
Instructor: Often.
Students: He often goes to town.
Instructor: On Saturdays.
Students: He often goes to town on Saturdays.

The Type B Expansion exercise could be a competition or a chaining activity:

Student A: He goes to town.
Student B: He often goes to town.
Student C: He often goes to town on Wednesdays.
Student D: He often goes to town by train on Wednesdays.
Student E: He often goes to town by train with his sister on Wednesdays (p. 33).

Type-B activities are an essential extention of normal Type-A classroom activities; they give students confidence and skill in using the language they need for real interaction.

Language teaching goals changing

In an issue of a French educational journal devoted to prognostication about the state of foreign language teaching and testing in the year 2000, Valette (129) sees technological advances as contributing little to the formation of tests of communication, since we now have fairly advanced technology. She sees, rather, changes in both the *kind* of language being taught and in the general goals of language teaching. She predicts emphasis on comprehension and speaking, on *real* language rather than language simplified for teaching. Phonemic discrimination and dialogues will have little importance. Rather, teaching for personal expression and total oral communication will be the goal. Tests of such expression could take the form of interviews, and the sole job of the evaluator will be to decide whether communication is effected and the degree to which it is made. Spolsky et al. (118) report successful use of such interview tests with children to determine language dominance. The *Spanish-English Dominance Assessment Test* was used for assignment of six- and seven-year-old children to validate teacher ratings of language dominance. The tests use a hierarchy of questions in both languages to determine a rough approximation of level of usage in English and another language. A third test described by the authors is an interview designed for use with adults to determine their ability to use English as a "functional tool of communication" (p. 230). The interview consists of a number of groups of questions, arranged in a hierarchy so that the block of questions the adult can answer yields a decision-making result that can be used for placement. The goal of the questions is the conveyance of understandable information

Examples of communication tests:

Language dominance interviews

within a suggested social context. The conclusion of the authors was that such tests can be considered first steps toward answering Brière's challenge for the development of tests of communicative competence.

Childhood language development tests

Rose et al. (107) devised a test of young children's communicative skills (in English) at the Learning Research and Development Center of the University of Pittsburgh. Their testing procedures may hold some possibilities for second language research. A unique feature is that both reception *and* production are measured and that *two* children are tested at a time. They are seated on opposite sides of a table, each with a magnetic board with kitchen and classroom scenes and identical sets of objects (drawings with magnets glued to the backs). Neither can see the other's board. The "presenter's" board shows each object in place in the picture. The "receiver's" objects are on the table in front of him. The presenter has to tell the receiver what to pick up and where to put it. No gestures are allowed, but language use is unlimited. The receiver can ask as many questions as he needs until he is satisfied that he knows where to place objects in question. The interchanges are taped. Four scores result from analysis of the tapes:

1 A presenter score, including a description or label of the item, a description or label for the placement of the item, and the exact position of the item (Example: "Put the red book on the second desk.")
2 A receiver score, which includes the selection of the correct item, the correct placement of the item, and the ability to question the presenter for more precise information
3 A pair score, which indicates the ability of the two to interact regardless of the presenter's errors
4 An intercommunication score, a tally of items correctly placed

Similar tests in a foreign language might be explored.

COMTEST and PROTEST

Palmer (92) describes two types of tests of communication, the first to measure two-way oral communication ability in three forms (COMTEST) and the second to measure oral production ability (PROTEST). The COMTEST provides for an examiner and a subject in one-to-one correspondence to be given identical sets of pictures, five sets of stick drawings, and five sets of magazine pictures. The time required for the student to identify correctly the picture held in mind by the examiner for each item is the only variable. The student asks questions for information. The examiner works with a set of guidelines designed to standardize examiner behavior. The PROTEST uses the same sets of stick figures and pictures used in the COMTEST. The examiner holds up a card indicating which of the set of four pictures the student is to describe. The student is then asked to communicate to the examiner which picture has been indicated. The only variable is the time that elapses before identification is possible. Scores on the tests were correlated with scores on the *Michigan Proficiency Test* battery. Palmer found correlations of .672 with the COMTEST and .790 with the PROTEST. Because the test takes only 10 minutes and its reliability is greater than in a direct interview of the same length, he concludes that the test is both a useful and practical measure of oral communicative competence.

ARELS Oral Examinations

Fabian (42) describes the *ARELS Oral Examination* (3), devised by the Association of Recognized English Language Schools in London, in which listening comprehension and oral skills as well as reading aloud are considered in determining a student's communicative proficiency. Since the test is a reflection of spoken English, short answers that are not complete sentences are acceptable. Model answers are given for the examiners, although they are urged to use their own judgment in scoring as well. There are six sections to the tape-recorded test. In the first part, "social situations," the student hears a comment and is asked to say the most natural thing in the circumstances. Such situations as the following are considered: "My husband has just broken his leg, so he won't be here for the party." "You have brought home a bottle of beer with a metal cap you can't open, so you turn to a fellow-lodger. What would you say?" "There's no ashtray on your table in the restaurant, but the people next to you have one and they're not smoking. What would you say to get the ashtray?" Fifteen such situations are indicated, and the student gives a single-line retort. In other parts of the test the student reads a newspaper article aloud to his family, and he reads the role of a dental patient talking to a dentist's receptionist on the telephone regarding an appointment (to test intonation patterns). In another part he is involved in a taped conversation. He is a foreign visitor to London (named Nickie) who must answer whenever he is spoken to—he never takes the lead. Examples of the kinds of questions he must answer include "What do *you* think about Jack's job?" or "What's wrong with being tied down, Nickie?" Tests of receptive skills include the following: The student hears on tape English sentences that exhibit special-stress intonation patterns. He is to determine the meaning resulting from the intonation pattern. For example, Woman's voice: "Are there a lot of rules restricting you here?" Man's voice: "No *rules*." (Intonation implies "but there are other difficulties.") He then hears a question: "Is the man completely free from restrictions?" The student answers orally. The student also answers questions about a newscast, talks for three minutes about a set of pictures, and delivers a 1½-minute persuasive talk of his own choosing. The tapes are graded for "naturalness of language" and are marked "by impression and not under categories item by item." The examination takes about one hour, and since it is administered in a language laboratory, groups can be tested simultaneously. Each set of tapes is graded by two examiners who work independently. Decisions are made to place students into one of four categories (fail, pass, credit, or distinction). If both scorers place a student into the same class, the decision is accepted. If they differ, the tapes are sent to a third examiner. In six years of the 3,000 candidates who have taken the examination, 1,900 were passed. No statistical reliability or validity studies are reported.

Tests of receptive skills

Valette (127) outlines college French classroom activities that can foster the *development* of communication skills. They include small-group discussions about reading material in which the students act as leaders and prepare topics and have the opportunity to retake tests as often as needed. To encourage self-expression in writing, she suggests group compositions, where students work in groups of five to produce a single composition. Besides the obvious advantage of fewer papers to grade, she indicates that the resulting composition is usually more accurate because what one student has forgotten, another may remember. The process also gives students more opportunities to speak the foreign language. She also suggests asking students to compose answers to "Dear Abby" letters; to keep logs; and to write skits, commercials, and travelogs for videotaping. She stresses that not all spoken and written work need be or should be graded.

Teaching self-expression

Savignon (110) focuses on the development of communicative tests suited to the beginning levels of a college French program and on the use of these tests to measure *training* in such skills. She concludes that traditional tests are inadequate to test communicative competence and there is value in *training* in communication skills from the very beginning of a foreign language course. Her study, which lasted one semester, used three groups of beginning French students at the University of Illinois. All groups met for four 50-minute periods per week for the same basic course in French. Each of the three groups spent one additional hour per week in a French-related activity—the control group in the language laboratory working with basic course materials. One of the experimental groups received training in performing specific communication tasks, from greetings to asking for directions. Meaning was emphasized, and students were encouraged to get ideas across in any way they had to. The third group had experiences with French culture, films, discussions, cooking, and so on, conducted in English. Among tests given as final measures was a specially constructed test of communicative competence. Students had to discuss a subject with a native French speaker, interview a native speaker, report facts about themselves and their activities, and describe ongoing activities. Pretest measures showed no differences among the three groups. The communication skills group performed significantly better after study than either the English-language culture group or the control group on the tests of communicative skill and on teacher evaluation of oral skills. No significant differences were found in reading or listening scores or in final grades. She concludes that testing communicative competence is possible and that teaching for it is more productive than not teaching for it or than teaching about French culture, in terms of the students' ability to communicate in any of the four tasks described.

Oral communication training

Communicative tests

Schumann (111) outlines a number of techniques for teaching communication skills: response drills used at the Institute of Modern Languages in Washington, D.C.; questioning for specific information and other specific techniques used in the Chilton *Voix et images de France;* the Microwave Method devised by Earl Stevick at the Foreign Service Institute; and the Lipson Method, perfected by Alexander Lipson of Howard University. He does not give any indications of methods of evaluation of communication skills, however.

Other techniques

Nickel (80) calls for a great deal of research, "testing hypotheses concerning communicative competence conceived on the solid basis of reliable empirical evidence" (p. 12).

"Dyadic communication tests"

Byers (26) describes the refinement of a "dyadic communication instrument, developed at the University of Hawaii, in which a number of "item systems" are presented to constantly changing pairs (dyads) of students working as partners for the same score, eliminating competition. The partners sit opposite one another and perform a number of different kinds of communication tasks. *Word Recognition*—there are 20 words or series of words in each partner's test booklet. Half are the same in both booklets and half are not. Through oral means only, the partners must arrive at decisions about which words are the same in both books. *Sentence Processing*—each booklet contains sentences, none of which contains exactly the same words, but half of which mean about the same thing, half of which are different. Students are to discover through oral means which sentences are synonymous. *Instrumental*—pairs give or receive instructions for carrying out a psychomotor task. *Problem-Solving*—partners exchange information to answer problems. Partners change every 15-45 seconds. An audiotape gives all directions and administers the test. Byers suggests that the procedures are as effective for teaching as for testing communication. The actual tasks seem to parallel some of those suggested by Rose et al. (109), with the addition of the dyadic changing.

Discrete-point vs. global testing

Closely allied to the cautions advised by Bockman and Bockman (13), Everett (41), Georgiades (46), and Gronlund (54) is the emerging problem of whether language skill is best tested by using discrete-point items tied to contrastive analysis data, as recommended by Lado (69) or by more global methods that examine more than one skill per item. Oller (86) maintains that a sampling of the 50,000 discrete points of structure cannot constitute a test of language competence. Elsewhere, he warns that not all multiple-choice items are discrete-point items (Oller, 85). A case in point: A reading comprehension test in which a student is to read a passage and then answer several multiple-choice questions tests several skills, *including* reading comprehension. Vocabulary and structural understanding form part of

Identifying discrete-point tests

the skills he brings to bear on the answers to the multiple-choice questions. He gives further clues for the identification of the item type. It is rarely necessary for a student to understand complete sentences to answer discrete-point items correctly, ". . . and it is probably accurate to state that it is never necessary for a student to understand a context longer than a sentence in order to answer a discrete-point item" (p. 190). Tests of integrative skills, however, focus on language use and include attempts to examine a student's communication abilities as well as less global skills. The distinction is an important one, since many teachers mistakenly feel that any "objective" test is a discrete-point test.

Tests of global skills

The cloze test

The cloze test as a test of overall language proficiency continues to be explored. Oller (87) predicts that the procedure will play an increasingly important role in measuring language proficiency, as well as aiding exploration "into the mysteries of the human mind itself" (p. 151).

The term *cloze* derives from *closure*, the tendency for the human mind to wish to complete a familiar but incomplete pattern, for example, to complete mentally the missing eighth side of an octagon, to close the gap.

Grading the cloze test

The cloze test, in which every *nth* word is deleted from a running passage of prose, may be graded in one of two ways: The *exact* word used in the original passage may be the only one accepted. A number of studies have shown that this procedure is best for testing native speakers (Bormuth, 16; Oller, 85, Taylor, 122). When nonnative speakers are used as subjects, however, Oller (87) has shown that the scoring method that counts any contextually acceptable response as correct is highly effective when native language scorers are used. Other methods yielded no further information. What is measured by the cloze test is open to question. Oller (87) and Oller and Streiff (88) suggest that it measures a "grammar of expectancy," the ability to anticipate elements in sequence (p. 151). In any case, it seems to measure the integrative skills of the student rather than any one specific skill.

Elsewhere, Oller (84) finds cloze tests to have internal consistency reliabilities between .80 and .98 by half-score and Kuder-Richardson formulas, and validity by correlation with

TOEFL and other tests ranging between .83 and .89. Since cloze tests are easy to construct and administer, research into their potential uses and interpretation should continue. Oller suggests that the profession needs to study several aspects of cloze testing: (a) Distance between blanks. Is every 5th word appropriate? every 9th word? (b) The grammatical functions of deleted words. Does the deletion of function words yield the same kinds of results as the deletion of content words? (c) Multiple-word deletion. Can one delete phrases, clauses, sentences, or even paragraphs? (d) Mode of presentation. Is there a correlation between written and oral cloze testing? Nickel (80) further suggests research comparing overall listening comprehension test scores with results of cloze tests since the procedure seems to tap the same underlying skills as listening. Carroll (27) cautions that valuable though the cloze test may prove to be, it has little or no known diagnostic power, and thus its use might be limited to nonformative evaluation.

Cloze research needed

Plaister (95) suggests that the cloze technique can be used most effectively as a teaching technique. It forces students to guess meaning from an incomplete context, approximating the situation in which a student does not know meanings for every word he encounters. He suggests that such guesses will be based on syntactic and morphological clues rather than merely on chance. Plaister would increase the amount of information given the student-learner by indicating the number of letters in a missing word and by giving him the initial and/or final letter, increasing his chances of guessing correctly. He suggests that two class procedures can be successfully employed: The teacher can lead the students through part of the passage line by line, helping them look for structural and other clues. He would accept synonyms and lead discussion of alternate word choices and stylistics. Small groups work as teams to complete the passages. While he referred only to ESL classes, advantages of such an approach to the teaching of reading in foreign languages are just as obvious:

Teaching with cloze procedures

1 Vocabulary is always in context.
2 The grammatical form of words is studied in context.
3 Study of synonyms is facilitated.
4 Idioms are presented in context.
5 The student gets a broad sample of language upon which to base decisions.

6 Rhetorical devices and words that signal grammatical function are emphasized, for example, *therefore, consequently.*

7 Real oral communication is necessary to solve the linguistic problems encountered.

The procedure would seem well worth trying in classes in all foreign languages at all levels, from beginning to advanced.

Composition

Composition as a means of testing integrative skills suffers from the lack of precision with which it can be graded. Chaplen (29) used a general impression rating instead of minute scoring, as did James (61) and Jorstad (65). The latter used compositions to arrive at a "communication rating." Students were asked to describe an object in writing in exactly 30 minutes. Native raters later identified the objects. Students were rated according to the precision with which native raters were able to identify the object described. Research should continue to examine rating compositions as tests of integrative skills.

Planned deletions

Bondaruk, Child, and Tetrault (14) have led experimentation with "contextual" test formats, that is, "derived from authentic connected text generated to achieve real communication (as opposed to text generated for teaching purposes)" (p. 1 of Appendix). The cloze tests they are now validating use deletions that are planned instead of random, as in "true" cloze tests, according to FSI proficiency levels. They have deleted either function words or content words in various forms of the tests in several languages and sometimes included lists of words from which the testee may choose. They report progress also on a "Translator Readiness Test" in which a student first reads a passage in the target language and then completes an *English language* cloze test summarizing its contents. Its main goal is to "reveal the kind of mind-set which allows a potential translator to deal with nearly identical propositions realized in sharply differing surface forms" (p. 10 of Appendix).

"Speeded Reading" tests

Davies (35) has developed a "Speeded Reading Test," which seems almost to be a type of "reverse cloze" procedure, in which English distractors are interposed randomly into a running English text. The testee's task is to read the text as quickly as he can, circling every distractor he meets. Research into the relative contributions of speed and comprehension to the task is continuing. A brief sample of such a test may suggest ways in which such tasks might be applicable to the foreign language classroom:

> Our British policy for speak higher education is tenable girl on certain assumptions. The first did assumption is that the numbers yes of young people selected each year shouldn't for different kinds of without full-time higher education are wrapping sufficient for the nation's needs weather.

"Noise" tests

Spolsky et al.'s (118) experimentation with a noise test for testing overall second language proficiency was followed by a two-year study at the Department of English at Lund University in Sweden by Johansson (63). The studies carried out by Spolsky and his coworkers investigated the ability to perceive sentences under masking "white noise." They used 50 prerecorded sentences for dictation, divided into five groups disturbed by different degrees of noise. The natural redundancy of language was assumed to allow those students with more overall proficiency to receive messages despite the presence of noise masking some of the naturally redundant parts of the sentences. The Johansson studies included fewer sentences with a greater degree of redundancy. The sentences contained several words that yield clues because of their semantic relationships, for example, "The *ships* came *sailing* into the *harbor*." The tests differed also in that Johansson's were written for Swedish students learning English instead of for a general foreign student so that more direct linguistic contrasts were possible. Scoring was simplified, and more complete rating instructions for scorers were given. Johansson concluded that the noise test is useful and yields substantial correlations with other proficiency measures only when the "students' proficiency is native-like or close to native-like," and that the test "cannot be recommended as a test of overall second language proficiency" (p. 127). He also found that straight dictation without masking noise correlates more closely with other proficiency measures. The study of the noise test and other tests of language proficiency is continuing at Lund.

Gradman (50) is continuing the studies reported by Spolsky and conducted at Indiana University (Gradman and Spolsky, 51). In a preliminary study begun in January 1973, he reports correlations of .79 with oral interviews, of .58 with the TOEFL writing examination, of .75 with TOEFL listening comprehension, of .70 with the TOEFL structure test, and .66 with the total TOEFL examination battery. He suggests that major questions remaining include the types of errors probable with different levels of foreign language proficiency, the correlation of the performance of *large* groups of students with other measures of language proficiency, attitudes toward noise testing, the use of reduced formats for the test, and contextualizing—asking students to summarize the contents of a paragraph presented with noise. It is the final question that may yield the most information about the receptive aspects of communication.

Dictation

Other tests of integrative skills include dictation, which involves orthography, syntax and morphology, listening comprehension, sound-symbol association, and aural discrimination. Brann (18) used dictations of a personal letter to test 150 pupils in Nigeria and analyzed the kinds of errors they made. He looked only at the errors caused by faulty aural comprehension, ignoring morphological, syntactical, and orthographical errors. He concluded that dictation is not a very good aural test, but it is a useful diagnostic tool for identification of student errors and planning remedial work. Oller (85) found that dictation is an extremely useful measure of overall proficiency and pointed out the large number of errors with diagnostic implications.

On the basis of a study of dictation of six taped samples of English by a variety of native and nonnative English speakers, Brodkey (22) suggests that familiarity with the voice of the specific speaker is a "major variable in comprehension," and concludes that teachers are liable to be "the worst possible judges of their students' comprehensibility to strangers" (p. 216). He further concludes that use of dictation in the foreign language classroom might "convince some students of their incomprehensibility to others" (p. 217). If Brodkey's conclusions are substantiated by further research, dictation given by an unfamiliar voice may prove to be an effective test of integrative skills.

"Grammar of Expectancy" and dictation

Oller and Streiff (88) suggest that a central component of language competence is the "learner's internalized *grammar of expectancy*" (p. 17); they suggest that dictation, which activates this grammar of expectancy, is a useful global testing device that yields much useful information, both as a test of "short-term instructional goals as well as integrated language achievement over the long-term" (p. 18). The grammar of expectancy is a reflection of the underlying complexity of dictation as a test; the listener "formulates expectancies (or hypotheses) concerning the sound stream based on his internalized grammar of the language" (p. 16).

Translation

Nickel (80) outlines research undertaken by the Council of Europe to study modern language learning by adults. A conclusion that may seem startling today is that composition and translation will doubtless be retained in the teaching and testing program. He seeks to promote increased language learning in Europe, with *needs* of adult Europeans used as the basis for courses and tests. Identification of such needs depends on sociocultural (travel, study) as well as socioprofessional (job-related) data. Such needs assessments take the form of precisely stated *task* objectives for a wide range of skills, based on criteria similar to the U.S. Civil Service level definitions. The Council's studies of German university students indicate that there is "a closer correlation between the marks given for written translations and oral performance in the TL than has been generally assumed" (p. 9). He calls for research into relationships between active and passive skills, indicating that the disparate nature of the skills may have been exaggerated in recent learning and testing programs.

Jackson (58) reports a unique two-way translation test used for testing speakers of non-English languages at Eastern Montana College at Billings. It has thus far been used only for Indian languages. The first student is given an unfamiliar English text without pre-study or a dictionary. He translates the text orally into the non-English language. A second speaker of that language is required to retranslate from the non-English language back into English. Both students are thus tested, and credit in a non-English language is granted upon successful performance of the task.

Testing reading

The foregoing discussion of tests of integrative language skills should not convey the impression that more limited and discrete tests are no longer given or needed (Davies, 36). Both formative and summative evaluation have a place in traditional or innovative foreign language programs.

Smith (114) suggests that tests of the reading skill involve subsidiary skills—vocabulary and grammar. The author points out that in traditional "comprehension questions" a combination of reading skills is tested, and he suggests a number of techniques for testing both specific and general reading skills. He uses two categories, *productive tests,* in which the student provides answers, synonyms, opposites, and so on, and *recognition tests,* in which the student chooses answers from a list rather than providing them. Teachers writing recognition tests are urged to make certain that all of the distractors are possible responses so that the test items test the student's skills fairly. Writers are urged to consider whether the distractors are grammatically possible, related to the passage, and not obviously absurd. Further, the level of difficulty of the language used in the distractors should be equal to that used in the real answer and in the original reading passage on which questions are based.

Recognition tests

Oller (83) suggests that more sensible than separating out reading skills might be asking students to read a passage "with 90 percent comprehension as determined by some test of comprehension," and suggests cloze tests or dictations, adding that much research needs to be done to measure the correlation between cloze tests and reading comprehension, writing skills, speaking fluency, and listening comprehension. Valette and Disick (131) see the reading process as consisting of five stages, ranging from purely mechanical skills, or perception, to criticism or analysis. They provide a number of performance objectives and test items designed to classify and develop reading skills at each stage.

Cloze procedures test comprehension

Reading process stages

Whether in an individualized program or in a teacher-directed program, oral testing seems to be least attended to, despite the fact that oral objectives are frequently expressed in course and daily planning. Stansfield (119) suggests more reliance on *informal* testing procedures in the foreign language classroom, in which the teacher marks a number of individual students daily as he conducts pattern drills or works with other kinds of oral language activities. Valette and Disick (131) describe a number of testing techniques that can be carried on either informally or formally with students possessing various degrees of language proficiency. Robinson (106) maintains that whenever a student says *anything,* he is being tested. While this procedure does seem to provide a good basis for daily checking on progress toward meeting class objectives, more formal procedures used in conjunction with informal ratings would seem to ensure that *all*

Testing oral skills

Formal and informal testing

students have an equal opportunity to speak. The classroom in which 10 of the 20 students do all the talking, whether in group or individual practice, is all too common. Yet, being compelled to rate students who are not normally called upon could force teachers to teach *all* students rather than just the "vocal few."

Interviews in college classes

Francke (44) advises 30-minute oral examinations three times per semester in college classes, with a limited number held daily throughout the term. He suggests that if time limitations are too severe, two students can be interviewed together, with the added advantage of reducing pressure on the students. He also suggests correcting mistakes orally *during* the examination so that it is a learning experience. He cautions that detailed notes after each examination are needed, including comments about both strengths and weaknesses. Correcting a student during an oral examination seems to be unwise if the teacher is concerned that the student be given maximum opportunity to demonstrate his abilities orally. Francke gives no indication of how the student will be rated or given a grade on the basis of the interview. He concludes that when there are two teachers teaching the same level, exchanging classes for oral examinations avoids the subjectivity that often accompanies interviews when a teacher tests his own students. It would seem, however, that such a practice might unduly increase pressures on students.

Interview limitations

Saha (109) recommends 10- to 15-minute limits on oral examinations and suggests that three examiners work together if possible. The author makes a plea for research into better oral testing methods so that this very important skill can receive its proper emphasis in teaching programs as well.

Correction

Clark (30) points out the immense number of hours required to administer and score even a five-minute speaking test if it is given regularly to a large number of students and suggests a number of alternatives, including language laboratory monitoring and classroom observation of phonetic pronunciation, phonemic pronunciation, speaking vocabulary, and grammatical concepts. When formal procedures are used, he distinguishes between two types of tests, those that involve a *monologue* in which the student speaks alone, and *conversational speech* in which he converses with a tester or tape recorder. Either procedure carries the same problems of rating the speech sample, however. The need for ways to judge speaking skills is as strong now as Clark found in 1972. Many schools have introduced the use of student or other aides to administer simple oral quizzes designed to test gross sound discrimination or pure recall (as of memorized dialogue lines), but efficient classroom testing of fluency and communication skills is still undeveloped.

Testing culture

The development of tests for assessing the assimilation of cultural concepts is fertile, almost virgin, ground. Existing tests of "culture" (for example, the "culture" section of the *MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Proficiency Tests*) tend to stress the "large C," civilization aspects of another country. Clark (31) suggests that teachers minimize or abandon the testing of culturally appropriate *behavior*" and urges them instead to concentrate on adequate and accurate measurement of student *knowledge* in these areas. Nostrand (82), however, warns that objective tests of that type are impossible except for the "unexceptional truth"–that most generalizations about culture are simply useful "probability statements," or hypotheses, which must be continually tested (p. 296). He recommends instead that many of the culturally based teaching activities used in the classroom can be used to *test* culture as well.

Test knowledge or behavior?

Valette and Disick (131) devote a chapter to "Way-of-Life Culture," and identify behavioral objectives and test items that match each of the "stages of behavior" identified in the taxonomy. For example, in "Stage 1: Mechanical Skills, Perception" they identify a number of objectives and test items, such as the following: "Distinguish objects or behaviors that are typical of the foreign culture but not of one's own culture." The corresponding test item asks the students to "write out what in the picture or scene strikes you as foreign (clothing, animals, types of stores)" (p. 192). Stage 1 includes knowledge divided into recognition and recall. At the most advanced levels, Stage 5, the student will "observe and describe elements, structures, or institutions of the foreign culture." A sample test item would ask him to "state what attitudes and values are operating in each of these unfamiliar situations (teacher-student relations, citizen paying or not paying taxes, parent scolding child)" (p. 194). In synthesis and evaluation levels students would write a short story or produce a film that conveys information about a signi-

Stages of behavior

Synthesize knowledge* and *behavior

ficant aspect of the way of life in the foreign country; a test item would ask students to "describe how [they] would carry out research in the foreign country" (p. 195). The authors include "Civilization" in a separate chapter.

Culture: Teacher goals

Elsewhere Valette (130) identifies five possible teacher goals for teaching culture:

1 To teach knowledge about the culture
2 To develop general crosscultural understandings
3 To create a bicultural individual
4 To present the language in an accurate cultural context
5 To increase student motivation.

Match with student objectives

All five goals are not equally important, and some are more suitable to beginning or advanced levels. When suitable subject-matter and affective student objectives have been identified and matched with teacher goals, cultural learning can be evaluated, mostly through task completion—for example, creating bulletin boards or exhibits might help evaluate *knowledge about* the culture. At Level 3 of the taxonomy (transfer) students might evaluate advertisements based on knowledge they have mastered—for example, relating French attitudes about meals to appeals in an advertisement for a food product. She further suggests development and administration of pre- and postawareness scales. In the affective domain students may also be evaluated by the extent to which they carry on pen-pal exchanges, or attend foreign language plays or movies, or by activity inventories in which they check activities in which they participate.

"Parameters" and "nodes"

Brooks (23) has identified lists of "parameters" of culture that should concern language teachers and a list of "nodes"—areas in which parameters intersect—that should merit principal classroom emphasis. He suggests that such nodes as churchgoing, language one child uses when angry with another, and behavior at parties in the foreign country can serve as raw material for cultural study. As such "patterns-for-living" concepts become more widely applied in language classes, teachers and test-makers will find ways, such as those suggested by Valette and Disick, to determine the extent to which their students are making valid hypotheses about another culture. Bals (5) suggests that basic texts integrated into an individualized program must first be added to and expanded in order to awaken the cultural curiosity of students. Seelye (112) uses items from Span-

Testing hypotheses about culture

ish newspapers to help students generate hypotheses about culture. The techniques he uses for analysis of an advertisement may be useful for constructing *tests* of way-of-life culture as well. Means must be found to integrate cultural study beyond the "knowledge" level into individualized programs. In addition, a number of studies to determine cultural topics that are suitable for various language levels as well as goals and objectives for students working with those topics are needed. Test-makers and experts on culture might also be trying to devise means for testing a student's receptivity to another culture that can be easily administered and analyzed. Pre- and post-tests of cultural awareness and ability to synthesize concepts would help teachers to focus their teaching on ways of life. The first goal, however, must be precise identification of those culturally oriented student objectives that are attainable in the classroom. Only then will testing and teaching go beyond the knowledge level.

Studies needed

Grades and reporting systems

While the test communicates best of all to the student himself, the probability that such test results will be carried home and interpreted correctly by parents is high for the best students and almost nil for slower students. Some form of reporting to parents about student progress is thus necessitated, whether it is the traditional quarterly report card bearing "A," "B," "C," or "95 percent," "73 percent," or some other less traditional way of reporting.

Kirschenbaum, Simon, and Napier (67) introduce several more or less widely used alternatives to traditional grading. One format is a written evaluation, which may consist of an essay-type evaluation or which might be a checksheet with additional comments. A variation on the written evaluation is having students write *their own* evaluation, to be distinguished from programs in which students give themselves the letter or percentage grade they think they have earned. The authors warn that once the novelty wears off, students' grades become less accurate. A third system substitutes an advising system for grades, although grades are still given without students' knowledge and kept on their records. The fourth system is a contract system, which can be applied to a whole class. If the student does a certain type, quality, or quantity of work he will automatically

Alternatives to traditional grades:

- ***Written evaluation***
- ***Self-evaluation***
- ***Advising system***
- ***Contracts***

Performance curriculum

Pass/fail

Credit/no credit

Blanket grades

receive a certain grade. Everyone who completes certain specified tasks gets a prearranged grade, usually from "A" to "C." In another system the student negotiates his own contract which may or may not be like those written by other students. The fifth approach is the mastery approach, or performance curriculum, which involves a new classroom arrangement and teaching method as well as a new grading system—commonly called an "individualized program" or "personalized program." The sixth general means of grading is the pass/fail system, closely allied to the seventh, the credit/no-credit system, and the eighth, "blanket grading," in which everyone who does a required amount of work receives a blanket grade, usually a "B." Blanket grading is rarely used; it is risky for the teacher because it violates most schools' grading policies, whether spoken or silently agreed upon. They also indicate that these last types of grading are sometimes used by teachers to avoid *all* evaluation, depriving the student of "potentially helpful feedback" (p. 305).

Experimentation limited

Despite the fact that eight potential grading systems exist, however, the extent of experimentation with alternative marking systems is questionable. In 1969 the Research Division of the National Education Association showed that of all U.S. schools, 71.6 percent used "A"–"F" grading, 40.2 percent used conferences with parents, 17.4 percent used written descriptions of performance, 9.4 percent used the numbers 1–5, 6.2 percent used percentage grades, and 5.4 percent used pass/fail grades (Georgiades, 46, p. 39). The NEA study, however, included elementary schools as well as high schools. Since most elementary schools use parent conferences and written descriptions of performance, we may assume that the 40.2 percent and 17.4 percent respectively include elementary school contributions to the totals.

A Minneapolis Public Schools survey by Nesset (79) showed that almost 90 percent of grades recorded in senior high schools were letter grades. Of those, 25 percent were "A's" and 3 percent were "F's." Almost one half of the grades in foreign languages were "A's," while in other subject areas the proportion of "A's" was about one-fifth. One may assume that the Minneapolis situation reflects that in the nation as a whole.

Movement back to "grades"

Even the popular press (Jenkins, 62) reports that the movement to nontraditional grading was "always a lot less than a revolution. And even the gesture seems to be fading now" (p. 7E). A University of Illinois survey of 1,301 schools in 1971 reported by Jenkins showed that only 2 percent of colleges and universities in the country used nontraditional grading systems. And the same survey showed that while 61 percent of the colleges had elected optional grading in some courses, less than 10 percent of the students chose optional grading.

Alternative marking systems in foreign languages

Experimentation with alternative marking systems in foreign language classes largely takes two forms: It uses a contract or modified contract system, or it allows variable credit and pass/fail mastery levels. Following are summaries of some of the variations in reporting systems used in foreign languages.

Morgan Hill, California

At Live Oak High School in Morgan Hill, California, Logan (73) reports a contract system in which a student can work toward an "A" or a "B" contract, with the units of credit given depending upon the rate at which he completes assignments. Normally 16 assignments are needed to complete a unit of credit; five credits are the "normal" amount for a year's work. He suggests that schools under the Carnegie Unit system would probably require 18 assignments for each 1/10 of a credit. The report to parents includes an indication of one of four comments, ranging from "1," in which the student has been doing good work and has completed the expected amount of work, through "4," in which the student is having serious difficulties. The report form suggests that the student might consider changing to a different German course or dropping out of German altogether if he gets a "4." Teachers indicate reasons for lack of progress for students in groups "2," "3," or "4," indicating "waste of time," "excessive absences," or "lack of application." Finally, the parent is asked to help his student plan carefully for additional counseling by one of the German teachers and to encourage him to study more at home. McKim (74) suggests a similar system.

Progress in "proficiency steps"

The California State Advisory Committee on Foreign Languages (43) suggests reporting progress to parents in each of the four skills and cultural knowledge. Assuming that 97 "proficiency steps" have been identified and made available to students, parents, and counselors, the specific step at which the student is located in each of the four skills and culture is identified at the end of each reporting period. Articulation problems are greatly lessened in such a system because the teacher of any other class to which a student moves knows exactly what the student has mastered and is able to place him in instruction accordingly.

Wilmington, Delaware

Bailey (4) reports a system (in *all* curriculum areas) at Concord High School, Wilmington, Delaware, in which grades, grade-point-average, senior-class ranking, and salutatorian/valedictorian distinctions are eliminated. The student chooses to work on a "sufficiency" level or a "proficiency" level. The sufficiency level covers only the basic skills and understandings, while the proficiency level is suited to those with unusual motivation, interests, and skills.

"A," "B," "C" contracts

Braswell (19) uses a reporting system based on "A" or "B" contracts. A "C" contract is also specified, in which the student earns at least three credits. Anyone who completes less than three credits receives an "NG" (no grade) notation. A credit is given for a two-week assignment. The "A" contract indicates additional activities earned by completing Friday activities, extra-point assignments, "on-time bonus points," and by completing five or more units. Following the "A" contract appears a percentage system, however, that is unexplained. It indicates 96–107 = "B+," 108–120 = "A−," and 120 or more = "A."

Pass/fail

Reinert (96) suggests two ways of giving grades in a self-paced program; either through a pass/fail system or credit/no-credit. If letter grades are required, he suggests, one possibility is to give an "A" if the student makes better than 80 percent (or whatever is a minimal passing score) the first time he takes a test, a "B" if he passes on the second try, and a "C" if he takes it three or more times.

Scottsdale, Arizona

Shepherd (113) reports a system in use in French at Coronado High School in Scottsdale, Arizona, in which letter grades are given, their assignment depending on test grades and time taken to complete a unit in the following manner: A student who scores 90 percent on three units in nine weeks receives an "A"; if he does 2½ units, he receives an "A" if he scored 95 percent; 3½ units require only 85 percent for an "A." The teacher can give a higher grade than the formula yields in special cases, but not a lower grade. The system seems contradictory, however, since those students who take longest (and thus complete the fewest units in nine weeks) are least likely to earn even a minimal grade, while they must get a *higher* grade than those for whom work comes easily. It could thus be discouraging for the "plodder."

No failure

Wilson and Wattenmaker (134) do not use letter grades; they allow a student to pass when preset mastery standards are achieved, record *no* failures, record *no repetition of tests or courses,* and give a detailed written evaluation. The most unusual aspect of their system among those reported is that parents and students were consulted as a body to discuss problems and the rationale for their program before it was instituted.

Aptitude and rate of progress

Minimum units

Grittner and LaLeike (53) suggest that for an individualized program to have individualized grading "the student should be graded on what he does in comparison to what he can realistically be expected to do" (p. 71). They suggest administration of a language aptitude test to determine realistically what the student can be expected to do in addition to considering other material the school makes available in student files. Progress is simply measured by looking at the student's achievement at any given moment in comparison with that at any other moment, such achievement represented by units covered. The principal change from the traditional program is the de-emphasis on comparison with an entire class. They warn, however, that the time factor cannot be completely dismissed, or inertia will result. They thus suggest that a *minimum* number of units be required for a passing grade. Since awarding of grades is so intimately tied to granting of credit in most school systems, however, the ideal individualized program is one in which variable amounts of credit (fractional credit in some cases) may be given to different students according to the number of units they have completed.

John Dewey High School, New York City

Levy (70) reports an unusual approach to grading in effect at John Dewey High School in New York City. The seven-week blocks of time culminate in grades that are "neither numerical- nor letter-equivalent" (p. 133). Students receive grades of "M" (Mastery), "MC" (Mastery with Condition), or "R" (Retention for Reinforcement). The "M" student moves ahead during the following seven weeks. The "MC" student moves forward, but he also receives a prescription written by his teacher pointing out strengths and weaknesses and suggesting means for improvement. The "R" student also receives a prescription for improvement, but he remains in the same level of work for another seven weeks. The "MC" student in the foreign languages is given a "supportive DISK" (Dewey Independent Study Kit), which reviews the topics and objectives covered during the seven-week phase in which the student had difficulty. He can work in the resource center with ample help from teachers, student aides, and written and taped materials to pass the work. The seven-week phase gives the students a "fresh start" frequently. Students may also take languages by independent study. They work on their own through DISKs in the resource centers. Such students receive grades of "MI" (Mastery of Independent Study) which permit them to move through successive phases of work. Levy does not indicate what proportions of students in the program typically fall into each category.

Help in improving skills

Teetor (123) describes the Ithaca, New York, program in which partial credit is allowed and a report is sent to parents whenever a fraction of a credit is given, regardless of the time of year. Total credits earned, which may range from less than ½ to 2 or more, appear on the year-end report card. The program gives a "preponderance of 'A's' and 'B's,'" with further ranking over "5" (Superior) which indicates that a student has passive knowledge of 90 percent and active knowledge of 90 percent; "4" (Outstanding) with passive knowledge of 80 percent and active knowledge of 80 percent; "3" (Good) passive 80 percent, active 50 percent; "2" (Fair) passive 80 percent and active 30 percent; and "1" (Passing) with indications of passive knowledge at 80 percent and active knowledge at 10 percent. The ranking allows more precise indications of progress for class-ranking of seniors, he reports.

Ithaca, New York

DeLong (37) describes the credit program at Castle Rock High School in Castle Rock, Washington, in which Learning Activity Packages (LAPs) carry one unit of credit apiece. All courses in the school consist of 30 credits per year, 15 per semester. Each examination must be passed with at least 70 percent in order to continue to a new unit. The first-year German program contains 15 written and 15 oral exams, for a total of 30 credits. Report cards are sent home monthly, indicating credits earned that month, along with previous credits earned. The number of credits that should be earned by any given time in order to have 30 by the end of the year is also listed so that the parents can tell whether their child's progress is above or

Castle Rock, Washington

below what it would take to "just keep up." His report card also indicates a letter grade, although DeLong does not specify criteria or content for the letter grade.

Chicago Latin School

Hellman (56) gives "A"–"F" grades at the Latin School of Chicago, but asks students to write evaluations of their "effort and progress" each term. She gives individual final exams which "cover only the material studied by a particular student in a given term" (p. 1157).

Mt. Ararat, Maine

Thompson (124) reports a "Progress Report for Foreign Languages" which includes numerical grades from 10 (highest) to 1 (lowest) in six general categories: listening and speaking; reading skills, including "understands what he reads" and an affective concern ("exhibits an interest in independent reading"); writing; structure; culture, including a geographical knowledge and an affective concern ("exhibits an interest in the people who speak the foreign language"); and attitude, "has an open mind and tolerance for various points of view" and "is enthusiastic about learning."

Dade County, Florida

Alonso (2) reports that in the quinmester system in Dade County, Florida, minicourses are used, with each quin course worth one-quarter credit. Students receive letter grades, but final grades are recorded five times per year instead of at the end of the entire year, giving students a fresh start for each quin. Unlike many other programs, however, students do not have to sign up for full-year courses to receive credits. They may opt into or out of the program at will. "Language teachers work closely with the guidance department in helping students determine which of the options would best fit the student's own goals" (p. 189).

Michigan skill sheets

Ort (90) has developed a "skill sheet" which gives in summary form the "Michigan Minimal Performance Objectives for Foreign Language–Level A." The sheet could be used to interpret to parents students' skills on the performance objectives. The skill sheet includes the following areas: phonology; vocabulary; grammar; conversation, which goes from comprehending "the content of a conversation on familiar topics between two or more people" to rehearsed dialogues to participation in a conversation based on familiar topics; reading; writing; and culture, which indicates that students will "demonstrate knowledge of these cultural aspects of the country, i.e., common idioms, basic musical types, general folklore, national shrines and monuments, and birthdays." Presumably the check sheet could be used to indicate those areas in which a student has shown mastery of Level A.

Kanawha County, West Virginia

Owens (91) uses a similar "summary of objectives" sheet to report progress ("Beginning skill No. ____; Ending skill No. ____") which includes space for indications regarding pretests, posttests, and summative tests. The report record follows the student from year to year. The report form for parents indicates not only the student's placement in each skill but also whether the student is above, on, or below "the average placement of the class."

College grading systems

Grade contract

Individualized programs and concomitant grading concerns are less widespread at the college or university level. Bornscheuer (17) used a "grade contract" reached between the author and an entire class in an upper-division French literature class at the University of Texas at El Paso. Six items covering reading, attending class, giving oral reports on novels, writing papers on authors or works, preparing a bibliography of one author, reading a novel not studied in class and reporting on it, and taking the final examination, were considered in making the contract and assigning grades. No provisions were made for "D" grades. Those areas that had to be completed for the student to receive grades of "C," "B," or "A" were carefully stipulated. She reports that the entire class contracted for an "A," "whereas only 70 percent achieved it" (p. 368). Questionnaires completed by students at the end of the semester were positive. "They liked knowing exactly where they stood and what was expected of them at any given time." They also commented on the reduction in pressure. These were highly motivated students, but the idea nonetheless warrants careful consideration.

No final examination

Spencer and Pelc (115) report that elementary and intermediate French courses at the University of Illinois in 1971 worked within a contract framework that included no final examination. Rather, five cumulative tests at three-week intervals provided feedback. Each of the five tests consisted of aural comprehension, grammar, and reading comprehension sections. Students could retake tests. (From 41 to 52 percent retook each exam; all but five of 391 students who retook tests received the same or higher grades.)

Forgiveness policy

Perel and Vairo (93) suggest that the idea of giving letter grades to students is not in itself bad, but that, since "universi-

Advantages and limitations of pass/fail

ties maintain transcripts showing failures of students forever," failing students, who may nonetheless have learned a great deal in their courses, are often left by the wayside. They urge a forgiveness policy that would expunge records of poor performance and give only limited records to future employers. Many universities today do just that, in fact. Goldstein and Tilker (48) found in a study of undergraduate students, graduate students, and faculty that the honors/pass/fail system encourages creativity, fosters real learning, and is more equitable. "A"–"F" grading, however, is viewed as providing better feedback and as presenting fewer problems for entrance into graduate school. The authors suggest a dual grading system in which students choose the system by which they wish to be graded. Gold et al. (47) found that the academic achievement of freshmen and juniors studied at Cortland College of the State University of New York went down when pass/fail grades were given. They found also, however, that students elect as pass/fail choices those courses in which they anticipate receiving lower grades. They indicate that the decline may be attributed to students' previous experience and suggest that it is a step toward alleviating grade pressure. Ladas (68) and Stiles (120) suggest asking students to share responsibility for grading and assessing their own performances. Ladas found that student assessment correlated with ratings by the instructor about 80 percent of the time.

Many variations on the preceding formats are possible. In summary, innovative reporting systems in foreign languages tend to:

1 Provide for variable credit depending on student progress.
2 Transfer responsibility for grade assignment from the teacher to the student. Standards for each level are predetermined and communicated in advance.
3 Clarify the parameters of the grading system for parents and students.
4 Relate more closely to course goals than do traditional grading systems.
5 Take into account in some manner the wide range of abilities and motivation students bring to the foreign language class.
6 Reflect the fact that language is not a single set of cognitive elements that can be simply measured and attached to a numerical or single-letter value.

Program evaluation

Constant evaluation of language programs is essential, and feedback can be used for their improvement. Karns and Wenger (66) suggest an endless curriculum-planning program which includes "program preparation, program conduct, program evaluation, program correction, and the cycle begins again" (p. 535). Their suggestion, if applied carefully to foreign language programs, might prevent the "faddish" aspect that many of our attempts assume. While Rubin (108) addresses *global* language planning problems, her recommendations are surely as important for planning in American communities. She urges that any planning for a language program must take place within the framework of the environment in which it will have to work. Planning for a situation "will depend on available resources and on the goals that language teaching is attempting to satisfy" (p. 480). Banathy and Lange (6) recognize the curriculum-planning continuum suggested by Karns and Wenger, but suggest that in the foreign language field, it has been "short-circuited" because revolutionary changes in linguistics, psychology, and anthropology "have revamped our thinking as to what language is, how language works, and how it is learned." They outline a program for curriculum design which would reestablish the continuum.

Using feedback: Completing the system

To assess more clearly the goals and objectives of students in a school and parents in a community, some foreign language programs have begun involving the community and the students to a greater extent than in the past, when the school simply taught what "it" felt was best for students to learn. Two concerns–seeking student input through attitude surveys and questionnaires and seeking parental and community input–warrant research and experimentation to devise instruments and techniques for measuring attitudes and needs of parents and students.

Instruments for input

While such concerns are at the moment outside the purview of a chapter on testing foreign languages, ultimately the responsibility for designing the instruments for input will fall to foreign language test constructors. Even before that is possible, the feedback loop depends for its completeness on a complete analysis of the elements of which it is composed. Therefore, foreign language programs should now seek ways to encourage student, parental and community participation in goal-setting. They will find that cooperation is easier.

Seeking student input

For teacher goals to be congruent with student goals for language study, teachers and program planners must be familiar with what student goals are. Attitude surveys seem to be the most economical way, in terms of time and of cost, to examine student goals and attitudes toward language study. While the Jakobovits Foreign Language Attitude Questionnaire (59) and the Mary Dufort Attitude Scale (38) are the best-known instruments today, many more schools and districts are preparing their own informal attitude survey forms. The Jakobovits questionnaire has proved difficult to analyze, and the results are ambiguous because the difficult language used in the questions is unsuited to secondary school students. The Dufort scale may yield information that is too general for use by a school planning changes in language programs.

Attitude instruments

Reinert (100) has studied student attitudes in Edmonds School District No. 15, Lynnwood, Washington, since 1968, utilizing the results for program planning and revision. Attitudes of students were surveyed again three years later (Reinert, 99). One can only regret that more complete statistical analyses of resulting data were not completed. The 1968 survey showed that more than half of the students felt the main reason for taking a foreign language is to meet college requirements. Reorganization of the program, expansion into junior high schools, and introduction of individualized programs resulted in the finding three years later that only about one-third of the students rated admission into college as the prime reason for language study. Reinert (100) reported further that "more students had very positive things to say about foreign language," but he also found "more students who had nihilistic attitudes toward foreign language" (p. 4). Reinert (101) then went one step further. He polled students who were *not* enrolled in foreign languages to discover some of their attitudes. He discovered that among students who had dropped a foreign language, the main reason was "I've tried foreign language and I didn't

Input guides program revision

Nonparticipant surveys

like it" (p. 5). He found that parents and counselors play insignificant roles in getting students to take languages; the teacher and the program are stronger influences. Strong voice was given to the view that languages have "no practical value" and that they are hard subjects. Students were asked what changes would have made them want to take languages, and they indicated the "need for more fun in the classroom," more opportunity for working at their own paces, pass/fail grading, and more opportunities to speak. The course offerings are once again being changed to reflect some of the suggestions of the nonparticipating students (including highly specialized short-term courses, such as French art, scientific German, and Spanish dancing). Reinert concludes that the district's program revision is in answer "to an expressed desire of our clientele" rather than to felt *teacher* needs.

Role of parents, counselors

Dusel (39) suggests that to discover whether motivation, parents, counselors, objectives, content of the language course, or the teacher played significant roles in a dropout decision, a short questionnaire ("Reasons for Discontinuing Foreign Language Study," p. 22) be administered to every student who stops taking a foreign language at every level. He recommends that such a questionnaire be administered and interpreted by a registrar or foreign language district supervisor instead of by teachers to ensure student frankness and honesty.

Dropout surveys

Williams (133) recommends that as school systems change to the quarter system in the state of Georgia, "they utilize student input in developing courses to meet their needs, interests, and abilities." Such input should be sought (and is being sought) by more and more districts and states.

Without such student input, the system teachers develop for them cannot register their real needs, and language enrollments will continue their downward trend. Student input can be solicited at every level, from FLES classes through college courses, so that language courses reflect changing needs. Benevento (8, 9, 10) outlines questionnaires administered to FLES and secondary-school classes in Collingswood, New Jersey, in 1969–73. The purpose of the questionnaires was to discover student objectives for foreign language study. Objectives were grouped under each of the four skills and culture in hierarchical order from most elementary to most sophisticated. She hypothesized the objectives each level of student would choose; her expecta-

Input at every language level

Identification of student objectives

tions were not always matched by those of the students, the students often appearing quite realistic in their expectations. She concludes that "any discussion of objectives does not encourage students to continue foreign languages past the second year," and also that students still too often wish to speak fluently after two years or less of foreign language study.

Program change

Since college requirements are no longer the most important reason students study languages, plumbing the real reasons why they might *like* to, or why they *are not* studying languages is essential. Rivers (104) points out that "attitudinal changes which gradually evolved over a generation may now be effected within a decade" (p. 109). She concludes that the new student does want changes in our language programs and advocates terminal programs where students who study languages for only one year can carry away tangible need-fulfilling experiences.

Research on student attitudes

In addition, research into student attitudes toward foreign languages, foreign people, and cultural patterns is needed. Standing as a landmark in the study of student attitudes and their interrelationships with other factors in predicting success in language study will surely be the studies collected by Gardner and Lambert (45). Carried out by a group of researchers at McGill University and the University of Western Ontario, these studies and others have led to a number of theories regarding ethnocentricity, aptitude, attitude, and foreign language achievement. They conclude that attitudes toward other people can influence a student's foreign language learning, as can attitudes toward the learning task. If this is so, efforts should be redoubled to discover with precision what those attitudes are. It was further theorized that aptitude and intelligence act with sympathetic orientation toward another people to determine whether a student will do well in language study. In the Gardner and Lambert studies social class changed the extent to which attitudinal measures influenced achievement. In addition, family attitudes toward another culture tend to influence student attitudes. Further extensions of their research to other settings in the United States might yield interesting results for foreign language teachers.

Community and parent input

Allied to studying student attitudes for development of new language courses is the growing demand for community input into language programs. While the demand for such input was in some areas initially a threat because of the politically charged atmosphere in which identification of teacher competencies was demanded, such input can offer means for strengthening our programs and making them a more vital part of the school scene, especially in view of the Gardner and Lambert conclusion that parent attitudes strongly influence student attitudes. The community can be involved in the foreign language program in a number of ways, most of them informal—for example, adults serving as aides in the language resource centers and classrooms, as conversation leaders if they are bilingual, as chaperones for class trips. Yet the parent who sends his child to an alternative school is also providing information to the public school foreign language program, especially if the alternative school offers a variety of occupationally based language course options.

Informal community involvement

Gradisnik (49) has solicited input from parents of students in Milwaukee Public Schools regarding two programs. The first questionnaire attempted to evaluate the extent to which parents influenced their children's progress in fifth- and sixth-grade Spanish. Spanish, which was mandatory from 1960–72, became voluntary as a direct result of the questionnaire. In another project at Riverside High School, a "Foreign Language Task Force," intended to involve parents, community, Milwaukee-area universities, and Milwaukee Public School teachers and staff, was focused on educational improvement projects. The task force, co-chaired by a parent and the Foreign Language Department chairman, recommended basic goal definitions, identification of possible projects, careful specification of equipment and staff needs, identification of those program aspects that might best be assigned to "feeder" junior high schools, and interrelationship of foreign language programs and activities with other subject-matter areas.

Milwaukee task force results

Needs assessment, Tucson

Bockman (12) reports that a needs assessment is underway in Tucson, Arizona, public schools, as a result of a survey that showed that students had highly positive attitudes toward Mexican culture and good listening proficiency, while enrollment in the high school Spanish programs and Native Spanish Programs decreased. In 1973–74 182 students of a school population of about 1,400 Mexican-Americans were enrolled in the

Native Spanish sequence. The needs assessment is seeking input from district and school administrators, parents, community, teachers of Spanish, and teachers of other subject-matter areas. The product of the needs assessment will be "goals and objectives for a new Spanish program or whatever kind of educational programming might be appropriate to meet the revealed needs." He points out that the present failure of the programs to meet community and student needs is largely the result of *lack of knowledge about such needs* and about attitudes of parents toward available opportunities. He identifies the following steps as a model: identification of the problem, definition of the problem, analysis of the constraints, generation of the "best" solutions, selection of the best solutions, implementation of the chosen solutions, and evaluation of the results. Goals have been identified by all parties, and include objectives in practical Spanish competence; Spanish language academic preparation or standing, for example, preparation for the seventh-grade program; general language awareness; intellectual and academic motivation; cultural values and attitudes toward the Mexican-American culture; cultural skills and crosscultural communication; general social skills; and development of desirable character traits, including self-study and self-evaluation skills and motivation for language study.

Steps in needs assessment

As communities push for more direct accountability by the schools, the procedures outlined by Gradisnik and Bockman must be adapted and developed to suit other local situations. School districts and language personnel would do well to consider needs assessments and begin to seek community input before they are forced to do so by strident interest groups. Far from being a threat, such input should be seen as a means of strengthening foreign language programs through clarified goals and objectives and enforced public education about our programs.

Input to strengthen programs

Summary

The principal aim of testing is to communicate to the student the extent to which he has progressed in attempting to fulfill his goals. Progress in the testing field was observed especially as a step in a feedback loop that includes specific goals, clearly defined and logically developed tasks to be completed, and evaluation procedures for providing feedback to the student about his progress toward reaching the specified objectives. The teacher-as-learner uses test feedback as well in program planning.

1 The criterion-referenced test is essential if the "mastery model" is used. Several kinds of criterion-referenced instruments may be used: objective tests, checklists, inventories, and quizzes.

2 A need still exists for computerized banks of foreign language test items that are easily used for individualized programs. Until such a time as they become operational, teachers can benefit from their own "item banks."

3 The congruence of objectives and tests is a *sine qua non* of individualized programs. Research and local study are needed to determine the minimum objectives for foreign language courses.

4 Teachers in individualized programs should be aware that when only criterion-referenced tests on discrete language items are used there is a danger that affective goals will be glossed over. They should search the tasks they develop for "hidden objectives" so that tests can reflect unanticipated (usually affective) outcomes.

5 If contracts are used, there should be some flexibility to allow for specialized student interests. Such flexibility often appears in the tasks described in the contract, but testing procedures are often rigid and dehumanizing.

6 Both discrete item tests and tests of global language proficiency are needed; discrete item tests will likely continue to be the formative instruments; summative evaluation procedures might benefit from research being carried out with global proficiency tests.

7 There continues to be a need for tests of communicative competence to ensure goal-test congruence. Communication skills can be *taught* and *tested;* research will continue to seek ways to do so objectively. Communication tests include ESL tests for bilingual children and adults, native-language English tests for small children, picture-matching PROTEST and COMTEST, ARELS English-language Proficiency Examinations, group compositions in college foreign language classes, training and testing for communication task responses, and a "dyadic communica-

tion" system yielding paired communication scores.

8 Tests of global integrative skills include cloze procedures, compositions, contextual cloze tests with planned deletions, a "speeded reading test" using *extra* words (distractors) which the student must circle, "noise" tests, dictation, and translation.

9 Research is continuing on ways to test "way-of-life" culture. *Behavior* can and must be tested as well as *knowledge.* Research is needed to identify topics suitable for various levels and to measure receptivity and attitudes toward another culture.

10 New reporting systems to parents are essential when innovative programs make the "A" or "90 percent" distinctions meaningless. All types of reporting systems tend to stress a student's progress with respect to his own abilities rather than with respect to other students in the class, and most carry with them indications of variable credit earned.

11 An important element of the feedback loop is the teacher-as-learner. Evaluation in the foreign language program should ideally lead to changes in the program.

12 Constant evaluation of the attitudes of students in foreign language programs is needed so that such programs reflect the prevailing goals of students. Attitudes of students who are *not* studying languages can be as useful as those of the students *in* our classes.

13 Continued research into ways of assessing student and community attitudes toward foreign language study and foreign people and cultures is essential.

14 Rather than being a threat, community input into assessment of teacher competencies and identification of goals for students can help foreign language programs become a more integral part of the school and community. Research must develop ways to measure such input.

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Extending the teacher: From text to context

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Alternatives to textbook

Security in textbook

With the rapid development during recent years of multimedia materials in virtually every educational field, the traditional textbook has often been maligned. From the time the language laboratory was first introduced into foreign language education, the teacher has been made to feel that no program could be effective without the use of a variety of audiovisual aids, some of them articulated with the text and some supplemental. Occasionally someone has even suggested that the traditional text should be abandoned altogether in favor of a variety of materials from different sources or prepared by the teacher (Earl, 32). Such suggestions, however, overlook a very basic virtue of a single text: Most classroom teachers have neither time nor facilities to develop an effective set of materials in the necessary sequence such as those provided by the published text (Grittner, 54). The commercially produced text offers both teacher and student a degree of security in its step-by-step progression through a course.

Yet, probably no teacher has ever been completely satisfied

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with any mass-produced text. Because of its generality it must be adapted to the unique emphases of a particular program. One of the great challenges of teaching is to create a meaningful context in which to bring to life the essentials of the subject, the explanations, drills, and cultural situations.

Context needed

The teacher must frequently extend his activities beyond a simple recitation and explication of what is found in the text. The kinds and degree of this extension depend on the objectives of the particular course and the availability of facilities. Taking these two factors into account, the teacher may extend his influence and increase his effectiveness in two ways: He may develop techniques for expanding material in the text, or independent of the text; he may create a context in which students will be better able to achieve the *teacher's objectives* for the course. He may reorganize course materials, employ other persons or machines as aids, or provide an environment of creative activity.

Means of extending teacher

Some teachers may only rarely, if ever, feel any such need to supplement an adopted textbook. Perhaps many of the techniques described in this chapter would fall within the category of what Gadberry (48) calls "marketing gimmicks," which he claims "only destroy whatever learning and teaching integrity is left in our school systems" and "waste students' learning time and teachers' preparation time for valid lessons" (p. 13). A responsible teacher must present valid lessons, but if "valid lessons" means an incessant pounding away at the structure and vocabulary of a language, devoid of any meaningful context (and such criticisms of new methods frequently imply such an attitude), a program built on such a base is of limited appeal and of questionable educational value. The occasional use of "marketing gimmicks"—even if they are nothing more than that—can meet a very basic need, the need to attract and hold students in a program. The very best teacher with the greatest insights to offer will be wasted in an empty classroom. Every teacher must first of all attract students to the class and must then be able to keep them there. To whatever degree "marketing gimmicks" serve these two purposes, they can be considered pedagogically legitimate.

"Marketing gimmicks?"

Teacher as salesperson

Teachers who do feel the need to extend themselves beyond the text will generally focus their attention on some particularly important aspect of the total program: greater amounts of student drill in order to master basic pronunciation or patterns; more frequent, extensive, and creative use of the target language by students; increased experience by students with different facets of the cultures in which the target language is spoken. Although one may examine the techniques that extend the textbook material from the viewpoint of impact on the student, we are concerned here with their impact on the teacher. The reader will find on the following pages a sampling of the wide variety of techniques currently being used by teachers across the country.

Supplementing and expanding the text

Individualization

Individualization

During the past five years individualization has become the darling of the foreign language profession. Virtually every issue of any foreign language journal carries a report of yet another application of this approach. Individualization is at heart a way of extending the teacher, for individualized programs are designed to provide the kind of meaningful context that is necessary for effective teaching.

Individualized programs now operating

Effective individualized programs help the teacher successfully reach his course goals by offering the student options the student requires for his own continued success. Since an individualized approach is infinitely flexible and adaptable, a program may be either totally or only partially individualized. One of the earliest, most extensive, sophisticated, and best-known examples of a totally individualized program is the Live Oak German program developed in Morgan Hill, California, by Logan (49). This program offers more than 30 options for study. In recent months reports have appeared of other individualized programs not only in high schools (Everett, 35; Schwab, 103) but also in various colleges (Altman, 3; Jespersen, 64; McDonald, 78). Bockman and Gougher (12) have expressed concern lest individualized instruction become so stylized it might disappear in a "new formalism," a concern apparently shared by Freilich (45) and Wells (114), each of whom recommends what she considers to be a compromise approach to individualization.

Compromise proposed

Any such concern about a compromise approach is unnecessary when individualization is properly understood as meeting the needs of teachers as well as the needs of students. Some teachers construct learning activity packets as a means of individualizing instruction (Rosenthal, 97), but this does not mean that a program can be individualized only in this way (Altman, 2). Since there is little evidence that the production of LAPs significantly increases the student's achievement in language learning, one could wonder whether the primary value to be found in the production of such packets—which requires enormous amounts of teacher time and effort—is that the teacher gains a sense of satisfaction because he feels he is doing something worthwhile. Their preparation is undoubtedly important as long as the teacher feels it is. But it would be a mistake to assume that to individualize instruction LAPs or any other specific techniques *must* be employed by every teacher.

LAPs

No single technique indispensable

Nor must an entire program be individualized; often individualizing only certain portions is sufficient. St. Xavier College, Chicago, for example, offers courses for reading knowledge only (Finstein, 39). Sometimes only the conversational or cultural segments of a program may be individualized (Brown, 17). The only requirements for individualization are a clear understanding of what is to be accomplished and a realistic appraisal of the changes this will bring about in the structure and procedures in the classroom (Disick, 31; Fisher, 40).

Partial individualization

Creative use of resources

*Imagination: The individual teacher's most important resource.*Through the thoughtful use of other personnel or audio-visual equipment, the teacher can easily extend his effectiveness. The most critical factor in going beyond a textbook, however, is the teacher's imagination, which by itself enables the teacher to do much with only minimal additional resources. Teachers for years have used various simple classroom games, such as Hangman, Twenty Questions, or variations of the spelling bee, as a way of getting across to students the same points normally found in routine drills. Reichmann (92) uses tunes to well-known nursery rhymes as a means of drilling cases of pronouns. Students chant the German equivalent of patterns such as "I help you, he helps me . . ." according to a familiar tune, and each student makes appropriate gestures as he sings. Carter (24) enthusiastically recommends the use of crossword puzzles for teaching general vocabulary or prepositions or na-

Melodious drilling

Crossword puzzles

tional monuments. He finds also that by giving each student in class a clue to only a single word, the whole class can work on such puzzles together. If students sometimes play foreign language Scrabble, the teacher can use the results of some of the better games as models for constructing crossword puzzles to be used later by the class as a whole.

Using inexpensive materials

Old magazines

"Scrambled dialogs"

Discarded or inexpensive materials can also be a useful source for additional activities (Garfinkel, 51). Posters, calendars, phone books, or food cartons from other countries provide props the teacher can use as the basis of conversation. Many materials regularly found in a primary-grade classroom can also be used in the foreign language classroom. A felt board with cutout figures may be used by the teacher or by students to illustrate a story being told to the class. Blice (10) suggests keeping old foreign language magazines and cutting out ads, lead articles, and cartoons to use for bulletin boards or for classroom discussion. Pictures from American magazines can also be used to provide an opportunity for students to apply expressions they have already learned. In what might be called a game of Graffiti, students can be challenged to find suitable captions in the target language to fit a picture. The teacher may even want to have a daily or weekly competition to find the best caption to fit the picture of the week. Flynn and Trott (41) have devised "scrambled dialogs": Single lines of a dialogue are written on wooden tongue depressors, and students are given the task of arranging the lines into a meaningful sequence. Variations of this technique are as unlimited as the materials available. Flynn and Trott also suggest collections of pictures and caption lines for the students to match.

Reworking newsreels

Reorganization of materials. By reorganizing films or tapes already in his possession, the teacher can develop materials more exactly tailored to fit the demands of his own program. Daimler (29) uses *Deutschlandspiegel*, a German newsreel series, as a regular supplement to a standard German course. Students receive dittoed copies of the script and have a chance to hear the sound track before seeing the films; thus, they receive maximum benefit from the showing of the film itself. An excellent example of a technique for giving existing materials new life is the use made of the *Guten Tag* series at the University of Oregon. The original series is a filmed language course produced in Germany and designed primarily for television use.

Plant and Stehr (89) kept the core of the films but eliminated the introductory and closing sections. They supplemented the films with drill tapes produced directly from the sound track, with handout materials correlated to the films, and with student tutors to work with small groups within the class.

Alternative sets of tapes

The teacher may wish to reorganize publisher-produced tapes to provide for greater flexibility. Stern (108) suggests that three alternative sets of tapes should be available for each lesson. One set is the publisher's original version and is used by the student who is able to progress at an average pace. A second set, used by the student who needs additional repetitions of each item, is constructed from the original by repeating certain drills and constructions more often than on the original. A third set, developed for the fast learner, is created from the original tapes with certain repetitive drills omitted. The teacher can also provide for the poor reader by dubbing onto a copy of the publisher's tape the English equivalent of lines of a dialogue or listening selection. The student who learns best aurally can thus be sure he understands the meaning of what he hears.

The team approach

Advanced students as tutors

Student aides. Additional personnel, incorporated into a teaching team, may provide the teacher with a valuable and highly effective means of extending his influence (Fiber, 38; Gilman and Flippo, 52). Ever since the day of the one-room school, teachers have benefited from the use of more advanced students as tutors for the less advanced. Many successful individualized programs have depended on such help. The Live Oak German program has regularly used fourth year students as proctors for what Logan (75) calls his "intensive care" group—those beginning students who have not yet learned to cope with the freedom of an individualized program. Cameron-Bacon (20) and Knop (68) observe that student aides can greatly extend the teacher's ability to provide for attention to individual students as well as release him from many routine chores that keep him from working directly with students in the class.

Students as teacher aides

High school students are frequently used as teacher aides in junior high and elementary school programs (Beach, 7). These students can provide tutorial help and in some instances may bring an expertise that the regular classroom teacher lacks. Students from advanced high school language classes can also provide valuable service for speakers of other languages who are attending American schools. Danville, Illinois, has for several years operated a cadet program for advanced Spanish students who work in the elementary schools helping newly arrived Spanish speaking children (Hall and Sturm, 56). An aide program provides the teacher with additional eyes, ears, and voices and creates a situation in which the aides themselves increase their own language learning.

Tutoring nonnatives

Paraprofessionals. Native-speaking paraprofessionals can be a valuable asset (André, 4), whether used only occasionally or as an integral part of a total program. An experimental team-teaching project involving regular use of native paraprofessionals at Lincoln (Nebraska) East High School demonstrated the value of such help in a carefully planned program. In their discussion of the project Hammelmann and Nielsen (57) emphasize the importance of careful selection and preparation of the paraprofessional. They recommend that the paraprofessional have recent contact with the mainstream of the foreign culture and that he be sufficiently broadminded so that he will be able to identify with the students and be able to evaluate his own culture objectively. Before the paraprofessional begins work in the classroom, he should become completely familiar with the community including the composition of the school in which he will work.

Preparing paraprofessionals

German week

Massive short-term use of paraprofessionals was employed by the Del Valle High School in Walnut Creek, California, to provide a German week for fourth-year German students. The students were excused from all other classes so they might spend five entire school days immersed in German activities. Eighteen German-speaking visitors from the community served as conversational partners, lectured on German composers, or taught folk dances. Reactions of students were positive and enthusiastic, although some students complained of having difficulty making up the work they had missed in other classes during the week (Crocker, 28).

Teams of professionals

Intensive courses. Teams of two or more professionals are increasingly being used in colleges and universities within intensive language courses. These intensive courses are characterized by having students spend many hours every day of the week immersed in the language. Students are involved in a variety of activities directed by combinations of regular staff and teaching assistants. Reports of the programs generally indicate that at the end of the course students tend to score higher on standardized exams than students at the end of one or two years of the regular college program. Most students completing such programs express their intention of continuing language study either through leisure reading, travel, or in additional courses. Although intensive courses seem to have these characteristics in common, they are varied in terms of scheduling and implementation. The Carbondale (Kilker and Gunderson, 66) and Edwardsville (Marti, 77) campuses of Southern Illinois University offer their own versions of intensive French programs, and Colorado College offers German in intensive mods during the school year (Richardson, 95). The University of Texas at Arlington offers the equivalent of four semesters of German in one intensive semester (Frank, 44). Wallace (113) describes an intensive program in each of several languages conducted during January by the Experiment in International Living for students from campuses with a 4-1-4 plan. Washington State University initially offered during the summer an intensive course in German only for graduate students. The original course was so successful the program was extended to French, and additional intensive courses are now offered during the summer for high school students or incoming freshmen (Benseler and Mazur, 9).

Intensive courses

Varied scheduling

Using media

Games. The media explosion during the past quarter-century has opened many avenues for extension of the teacher's influence and effectiveness. Most often one thinks of media in terms of audiovisual equipment, but even commercially prepared games can be valuable teaching aids. Popular and familiar games such as Bingo, Monopoly, and Scrabble are frequently used as aids in vocabulary building. In Kirkland, Washington, Campbell (21) has built a total junior high program around commercially prepared children's games she purchased in Germany during a summer visit. The games, designed as educational games for young German children, effectively drill linguistic features such as word order and sentence construction, articles and plurals, verb and noun endings, and vocabulary. The students are provided with supplementary pattern drills and written exercises based on the games. Although the adopted

Opportunities of media

Games

textbook is still used for explanatory materials and other drills, the text supplements the games rather than the games supplementing the text.

Lab potential

Improved equipment

Example of poor lab use

Audio equipment. The language laboratory or its components in various forms have been a staple of the foreign language program for at least 15 years, yet the potential of this tool has rarely been realized. The lab could be used to provide for a variety of different auditory programs, as a means of testing listening comprehension of many kinds of materials, as an opportunity for students to record dramatic or humorous scenes they create, or as an opportunity to provide students with materials just for listening pleasure (Reinert, 93); but more often its use has been limited to endless pattern drills. Ironically, as the durability, quality, fidelity, and flexibility of available equipment has increased and unit costs have declined, the language lab has fallen into disrepute (Sutton, 109). The reasons are not hard to discover. In a study of the foreign language department in an anonymous state supported university, Schotta (102) discovered inadequate use of the lab among reasons the department was in trouble. Complaints registered by students included lack of coordination between lab tapes and classroom work, equipment that was often inoperative, occasional usurpation of facilities by a faculty member, lab operators who were chosen for their engineering background but who lacked foreign language training, and unavailability to students of lab facilities for review at the end of the semester.

Dial-access systems

AV trainee program

Some schools have installed dial-access systems and have found these an effective way of avoiding some of the problems cited in Schotta's study. Boyden (15) and Harper (58) question such systems, however, suggesting that cassettes provide greater flexibility and student control of materials at only a fraction of the cost of a dial-access system. A direct attack on one of the problems noted by Schotta is provided at Montana State University by means of a program for training students to man the school's audiovisual facilities. Trainees are advanced language students who receive credit for on-the-job training as assistants in beginning courses that emphasize only the speaking and listening skills. The trainees learn to utilize available audiovisual materials to teach students in the class to understand the spoken language and to be able to speak adequately (Probst, 91).

Radio broadcasts—originated in another country or created by the teacher—provide a valuable means of expanding use of the language lab (Boyd and Wolfe, 14). Live shortwave broadcasts monitored from Europe or South America or relayed from Canada can be recorded and incorporated into the lab program. Savignon (101) identifies some of the virtues of this usage: Live newscasts are frequently about events with which the student is already familiar, which facilitates understanding; reports that require a broader understanding of cultural context stimulate interest and a spirit of inquiry in the student; and such broadcasts are "the real thing." With help from several native speakers, Therrien (110) prepares written scripts for each broadcast, which, he finds, fourth-year high school students initially need as an aid in understanding. However, these written versions become dispensable as the months pass. In a radio-oriented class at Marquette University, Mohr and Lally (82) have the student write out portions of the broadcast and then compare their written versions with a correct copy flashed on a screen with an overhead projector. Wood (117) gives detailed advice on reception of German broadcasts, and Seigneuret (105) does the same for reception of French programs. Both authors make recommendations about equipment.

Values of foreign broadcasts

Using shortwave recordings

Mock broadcasts

The benefits of live broadcasts under more controlled conditions were achieved by Garfinkel and Litt with mock broadcasts they designed for high school students in second-year Spanish (Garfinkel, 50). The programs include proverbs, musical selections, tongue twisters, interviews, jokes, and commercials. Among the advantages of such a program are better reception and the opportunity to design them to support specific objectives of a particular teaching program.

Visual presentations. From Pythagoras or Socrates drawing diagrams in sand to a rural teacher using chalk and slate, teachers have used visual representations to transmit ideas to their students. With the increasing availability of projectors of various kinds, slides and transparencies can be prepared in advance and used repeatedly for many objectives. Ford (43) advocates the use of the overhead projector and slides for teaching vocabulary. Carter (25) sees visual aids as "secondary devices for triggering oral expression" (p. 318) and argues that the potential of the overhead projector has been virtually untapped. For example, by the use of panels on a transparency—

even if the pictures are only stick figures—the teacher can lead students into conversations regarding a wide variety of topics. Decker (30) uses 35 mm slides photographed from books and magazines to create units of humor, advertisements, maps, foods, or other cultural topics. Using a camera on a copying stand, he photographs pages or portions of pages from various sources and organizes these slides around a theme for classroom presentation. Slides made of prepared dishes pictured in a French cookbook are used to illustrate a unit on foods; a collection of cartoons from magazines is used both to entertain and to provide the class with certain cultural insights. Grittner (54) has described a summer workshop in which students constructed a slide/tape presentation on bullfighting by using slides made from published photographs of bullfights combined with a correlated tape that included a student-prepared script and background music.

Slides from other photos

Slide/tape presentations

Film/tape presentations provide the teacher with an opportunity to present certain points dramatically to the class. Bosch-Cook (13) spent a summer in France with her husband and his family. She shot footage of film of everyday life and special occasions in small villages and less frequently visited scenic spots. On her return she edited the film into a half-hour show for which she and her husband prepared an accompanying tape.

Film/tape show on France

Another kind of visualization technique not usually associated with foreign language learning is the use of an oscilloscope as an aid in pronunciation. Richmond (96) uses one to convert native speech into visual patterns. The student repeats the same phrase and compares the visual pattern of his pronunciation with that of the native speaker. In changing his pronunciation to match more closely the native speech pattern, the student often is able to make corrections he could not make simply by listening.

Visualizing speech patterns

Assistance from computers. Drill work is necessary for language learning, but the responsibility for personally conducting all the necessary drill not only saps the energy of the teacher but is also a wasteful expenditure of the teacher's time. During the past two decades these drill functions have increasingly been turned over to various machines. The language tape performs this function admirably up to a point, except that the tape cannot correct student errors. Programmed texts appeared to offer the solution to these problems, for the program was self-correct-

Seeking help for drilling

Drill tapes and errors

Programmed materials

ing on a frame-by-frame basis; yet tedium and impersonality in the programmed text offer real barriers to learning. The newest hope now appears to be the use of the computer, which combines the indefatigability of the tape with the self-correcting features of a programmed text, but it is more interesting for the student to use. Allen (1) reports on a system designed for drilling the student in Danish, which could be adapted to other languages. The program is sufficiently sophisticated so that spelling errors can be corrected independent of more serious errors in meaning. The University of Illinois not only has computerization but a wide variety of other electronic media operating that support foreign language instruction (Nelson, 85). Ruplin (99) cites at least another half-dozen computerized programs under development in various universities, but notes that CAI (Computer Assisted Instruction) now "is simply an adjunct to what we have in its most traditional form. As our understanding of the process of language learning grows, there will be an increasing number of uses for it. At the moment, it is very exciting, challenging–and primitive" (p. 78).

Computer as answer

CAI

The costs in terms of time and money will probably keep computer assistance out of the reach of most teachers for a long time to come, but even if such facilities were to become available immediately, the impersonality of the machine weakens the potential of all programmed learning. Even when the computer is programmed to make pseudopersonal responses, it lacks the human warmth found in every successful teacher-student exchange.

Creating a context

In addition to developing techniques for expanding the textbook, the teacher extends his effectiveness even further by providing a living context in which the student finds communication in the foreign language meaningful. Such contexts are marked by creative student activity and usually are employed by the teacher to develop particular areas of the total program such as increased use of specific skills or greater student awareness of the culture.

Context for communication

Conversation

Foreign language teachers have a perennial problem in providing for conversational practice. There is general agreement that conversation means that the student talks at least as much as he listens; the conversation must center about a topic–it must be in context and not consist of merely a string of unrelated sentences; and the student must have the opportunity to express his own ideas. Among guidelines suggested by Oates (86) for a successful conversation exercise are that the teacher should be a good listener; he should correct indirectly; and he should use student ideas. To stimulate conversation, the teacher must yield the floor to the students; in practice, Murphy (83) notes, the teacher too often monopolizes 50 percent of the class time, and the other 50 percent is divided among all members of the class. Or, as Nachtmann (84) says, "Every foreign language teacher should study his own technique to make sure that the audiolingual method does not mean mostly audio for his students and lingual for him" (p. 65).

Characteristics of conversation

Guidelines

Problem of using student ideas

Even when provision is made for extensive student use of class time, the use of student ideas presents problems, at the beginning level at least, since anything approximating "free" conversation cannot occur prior to the intermediate level of study. After earlier attempts at more unstructured conversation, the Live Oak program evolved toward the "directed dialog" at the beginning level. Students in this program spend one period each week in a small conversation group, using vocabulary introduced the previous week and developing a dialog structured according to directions given in English (Logan, 75).

At more advanced levels greater choice of conversation topics is possible: Articles from current magazines and newspapers, lyric poetry, and taped radio plays are possible sources of material (Carney, 23; Kalwies, 65). In any selection of topics, however, Kvavik (70) warns teachers against choosing topics without consulting the students, "for the topic we choose might turn out to be overdiscussed outside of class" (p. 1058). (A group of her students explained that they did not want to discuss women's liberation because that was being discussed everywhere.)

Consulting students

Informality

Informality of setting is characteristic of all true conversation. The teacher who imagines that students sitting in neat rows in a classroom are engaged in real conversation is deluding himself. At the very least, the teacher should provide for conversation groups of no more than six or seven members each, and he should make some appropriate furniture arrangement. In an experimental Spanish class at the University of Washington, students were seated at tables with no more than four students at each table. On occasion all furniture was removed from the room or pushed against the walls, so students were forced to move about the room. This simple technique broke up incipient table cliques and proved to be an effective way of encouraging students to become acquainted with one another (Sauer, 100). An even more realistic informal setting was provided at the University of California at Berkeley, where a conversation class met one entire evening each week at the home of a member of the class (Clausing and Wolfram, 26).

Furniture arrangement

Class outside classroom

By ensuring an informal setting and permitting students to do the talking, expressing their ideas on a topic of their own choosing to whatever degree possible, the teacher can have some degree of success in achieving his goal of getting students to see the foreign language as a genuine means of communication. Teachers who are fearful that students will reinforce "mistakes" in an unstructured situation may want to employ some form of directed dialog at the earlier stages. But these teachers should also remember that such directed dialogs bear little resemblance to genuine conversation. Here, as elsewhere, the teacher's own goals and priorities must determine the amount of freedom left to students.

What about "mistakes?"

Cultural assimilation

No one seems to question the teaching of culture as part of a foreign language program, and most teachers agree that culture should be an integral part of a total program and not relegated to Mondays following vacations and holidays. The problems of integrating the cultural with the linguistic component in a foreign language program are legendary: preparation time, finding materials, use of materials that are available. The teacher needs to find a way of providing an atmosphere in which the student will gain some feeling for the culture, and he must realize some method to evaluate how much insight the student has gained.

Culture as integral part of program

The problems of providing for a living context call upon the creative ingenuity of the teacher (Jenks, 63). Imagination and inexpensive materials can provide the teacher with effective techniques. Valuable cultural insights can be communicated

Folk songs and dances

Personal contact

Partner system

by simple devices such as folk songs and dances (Pindur, 88). A German teacher, for example, can use any number of folk songs to illustrate to students the importance that Germans attach to nature and their love of the outdoors. The graceful elegance of some French folk dances compared with the boisterous, thigh-slapping, foot-stomping Bavarian *Schuhplattler* gives clear insights into the attitudes of the peoples with whom these dances originated. Personal and individual contact with foreign students, either through correspondence or by means of personal visits whenever possible, gives the student a direct and meaningful comparison of cultures (Seaman, 104). Extended personal contact is provided in Massachusetts by Project Adventure, a program in which a native speaker of Spanish is paired with a native speaker of English, and the partners throughout the year participate in skiing, cycling, camping, and hiking trips (Spencer, 106).

Role playing

Skits from dialogues

Miniskits

Filmed sketches

Radio dramas

Presenting a dramatic context. Teachers have for many years recognized the value of having students act out roles in skits. Having students say aloud and act out dialogues was a staple of the audiolingual method. Tiefenbrun (112) and Runte (98) find a variation of this approach still effective. Students in small groups use vocabulary and structures from several related dialogs or readings and create short dramatic scenes which they present before the class. Steltzmann (107) videotapes skits his students have created. The Wayne State "miniskits" require that students initially research the cultural aspects of a situation, work out a script, write a shooting script, and finally produce a five- to 10-minute skit either on videotape or on film (Behmer, 8). Listermann (74, 75) has found that student-produced filmed sketches of 10 to 15 minutes in length have yielded good results both in terms of language learning and increased student interest. Fourth-year German students in Hicksville, Long Island, write and tape their own radio plays (Wessell, 115), and Thomas (111) has students create radio dramas from well-known *Märchen*.

Puppet shows

Although both the videotape recorder and film can be used effectively (Meredith, 80), some teachers have found that "the play's the thing." Dramas need not always include live actors. Students at Monroe (Wisconsin) High School use puppets to act out their skits. To facilitate the final production, the script is taped so that appropriate sound effects can be worked into the production as needed (Larson, 72). Spanish students in Baysville, New Jersey, create puppet shows which are then videotaped, thus building a library of materials for future classroom use as well as providing an interesting activity for the students originally involved (Carfora, 22). Richardson (94) experimented with having third-year students write their own play modeled after plays they had read in class. When students read aloud the roles from their play, they frequently found that there was a difference between the spoken and written language. Faulhaber (36) used works from established playwrights for student productions as part of a foreign language drama laboratory. Students work up productions that are at least partially staged. In choosing plays for such a workshop, Faulhaber recommends that the play should be no more than an hour and a half in length, should have enough parts to accommodate everyone in the class with roles of approximately equal size, and should contain language simple enough so it can be enjoyed by nonnatives.

Drama laboratory

Members of the accelerated Spanish classes at Rich Township (Illinois) High School East have for several years staged productions of full-length plays by major playwrights. During the year the students may present as many as two or three separate productions, each playing to audiences as large as 3,000 students from other schools. Babbitt (5) reports that the plays have been sufficiently successful so that with the proceeds the class was able to spend a week in Spain during Spring vacation.

High school productions

Creative role-playing. The teacher can provide for creative student role-playing by setting up a context in which the student not only repeats lines in a skit or play but to some degree lives the life of a person from another culture. For the student to realize the full impact of cultural differences and similarities, he must in some degree "walk in the other man's shoes." Wolfe and Howe (116) suggest that as a first step in this process the teacher must help the student to become sensitized to his own cultural views. They suggest a number of strategies that could be used in the foreign language classroom, such as a "values grid" by means of which each student answers for himself certain key questions and a number of current controversial topics. "Did you consider both sides of the issue before you reached

Becoming culturally sensitive

a decision?" "Have you ever publicly defended your view?" Another technique they suggest is to have each student list 20 things he wants from life. Such techniques, performed in the foreign language and controlled by a skillful teacher, can provide the student with the self-knowledge that is the first step toward understanding of others. Corbin (27) provides her advanced French classes with a list describing a number of "real" French characters. The list includes only the basic vital statistics for each character: name, place of birth, age, occupation, marital status. Each student selects one character whose role he will play in the class. The student researches the background typical of the character, and in the latter phases of the course classroom discussions of current topics are held with the students expressing their views according to the characters they represent. Each student thus becomes deeply involved with at least one typical French character and learns to cope with others.

Adopting an authentic role

Another form of role-playing as a means of gaining cultural insights is the audiomotor unit developed by a group at the University of Georgia. These units simulate activities common to both the foreign and American cultures, and students perform the activity as it would be done in the other culture. In preparing for a picnic, for example, a German family would plan well in advance, whereas an American family might decide to go on the spur of the moment. An American family probably seeks out a picnic table, but most Europeans spread their picnic cloths on the ground. Typical picnic foods, of course, differ from one culture to another. (Elkins, Kalivoda, and Morain, 34; Meade and Morain, 79).

Audiomotor unit

Role-playing is of course not limited to university classes. Eighth-grade students in a Norman, Oklahoma, conversational Spanish class culminated a month-long research project by taking an imaginary trip to various Spanish-speaking countries. The students had to fill out all the required forms for travel, visit the Public Health Bureau for information about immunization, and were issued passports copied from genuine passports. At a local airport the class boarded a plane which taxied around the field to various spots identified as Spain, Mexico, Peru, Argentina. Upon arrival in each "country" the students had to pass through customs, manned by students from the University of Oklahoma—most of them native speakers—who also acted as

Imaginary trip

hosts and hostesses from the various countries (Kincaid, 67).

Gasterrero

An even higher level of student involvement is found in an experimental Spanish class at Santa Rosa High School in Tucson, Arizona. Students have created the Mexican village of Gasterrero (named for the two teachers involved in the project, Ricardo Gastellum and Irma Guerrero). Team teaching and use of advanced students as proctors provided for regular language training interwoven with the actual construction and operation of the various shops in the village. The students were involved in drawing up a "constitution" for their village, thereby incorporating into their learning an understanding of various cultural aspects of a Spanish-speaking community (Bockman, 11).

Converting the classroom

Describing imaginary village

Many of the benefits of such cultural simulations can be achieved on a more modest scale. With only a little effort the teacher can convert the classroom into a place of business, such as a restaurant or a bank for one day (Zajac, 119). Fourth-year French students at Edmonds (Washington) High School created a village in their imaginations. Using Wylie's *Village en Vaucluse* (which was the assigned reading for the course) as a model, the entire class created its own mythical village of Lanos-Griel. Members of the class wrote a description of the history, culture, and customs of their village in French. At the end of the year their account was produced as a bound pamphlet by the district print shop (Hasko, 59).

Cultural assimilators

Learning from mistakes

Evaluation of cultural understanding. The cultural assimilator described by Bals (6) can be used both as an instrument to evaluate the student's understanding of the culture and as a teaching instrument. A culturally significant situation is described, and the student is asked to select one of four possible explanations of why the characters acted in the situation as they did. For each of the three inappropriate answers, the student is given an explanation why this response might seem reasonable to an American but would not apply in the other culture. For example, a man comes into a crowded restaurant and takes an empty seat at a table where two other persons are already in the midst of their meal. The student is asked to explain why the customer did not wait until there was an empty table, and the explanations accompanying the incorrect responses point out to the student that in German restaurants one does not normally wait for an empty table nor does he expect to have a table all to himself.

Community resources

Restaurants and museums

Many communities offer natural resources the teacher can utilize to provide a living context. Classes throughout the country regularly take advantage of foreign restaurants in the local area and make field trips to nearby museums to see collections of art and artifacts relevant to the culture under study. Advanced-level German students from Meadowdale High School near Seattle on several occasions have spent an entire Saturday as guests aboard a German freighter which had come into port. Since most of the crew spoke no English, students were forced into a living situation in which German was the only avenue for communication (Eason, 33). Elementary Spanish classes in the Ysleta Independent School District in El Paso, Texas, regularly observe "Las Posadas," a traditional Christmas celebration brought to Ysleta in 1680 by the Tigua Indians who had learned the customs from Spanish missionaries in New Mexico (Hulbert, 62).

Aboard foreign ship

Old festival in Texas

Visit to Quebec

Students in the Total Immersion French Course at Burlington (Vermont) High School spend one week in Quebec, where they have many opportunities to use French for ordinary conversation and communication (Fontaine, 42).

Language festivals. In communities where no local traditional festival is available, students may create their own. Such events may range from relatively modest endeavors involving only one language in a local area, to a whole state, to an international fair involving large numbers of students (37). German students from the five high schools in the Edmonds (Washington) School District hold an annual *Volksfest* featuring German dances, skits, chorus, and a *Kappellenkampf* (Battle of the Bands) in which a German band from each school competes for possession of a perpetual trophy—a two-liter beer stein. The North Dakota chapter of the National Federation of Students of German, associated with AATG, regularly sponsors a statewide German festival which includes vocal and instrumental music, skits, and dances (Koll, 69). Local groups belonging to the Junior Classical League have for many years regularly held Roman banquets and field days. Both the NFSG and JCL also have national meetings during the summer. The Indiana chapter of AATF spent a year organizing a statewide spring *Festival Français,* which involved students from more

Local German festival

Statewide festivals

than 20 schools in a day-long display of skits, puppet shows, music, poetry reading, pantomimes, and booths featuring French foods (Parent, 87).

Language camps

Language camps. Foreign language camps can give a sense of immediacy and reality to language usage. Students attending such camps in Colorado must cope with passport and customs check upon their arrival at the gate of the camp, and all activities at the camp are conducted in the target language (Preller, 90). Camps can range from weekend overnight activities during the school year to a full week or two during the summer.

Selecting a technique

It is hard to imagine that any teacher would not find at least a few techniques in the preceding catalog appealing. However a teacher may decide to increase his own effectiveness, several factors must be carefully considered. Of primary importance is that the teacher must feel the need to make changes in his program or his approach. Grittner (53) has on several occasions pointed out the danger of jumping on a bandwagon just because it happens to be passing, for example, the current bandwagons of behavioral objectives and individualization have attracted many teachers and administrators who had no clear idea where the parade was heading. Audiolingualism had many virtues, and in the hands of devoted and skillful practitioners it still remains highly effective. But the stampeding of those teachers for whom audiolingualism was not suited created a list of abuses that are now well known: uninspired students in dull classes mindlessly repeating drills for hours on end, language laboratories that now stand in disrepair and disrepute.

Clear objectives

If the teacher genuinely feels the need for change, he must consider carefully the objectives of his own program. Simple arithmetic shows that whatever time is subtracted from the class period to engage in most of the activities enumerated above must be subtracted from time that previously has been used for some other purpose. If the teacher decides to spend three weeks during the year on the preparation of a puppet show, these three weeks cannot be used for extra drills or lab work or grammar explanations. The teacher must establish priorities for his own program. Is what he expects to gain from the new activity worth the amount of class time that must be

Established priorities

devoted to it? If cuts are to be made in the program, which aspects have the lowest priority? Failure to consider obvious questions has resulted in some disastrous attempts at innovation.

Assess time and resources

Sound planning persuasive

Before embarking on a new venture, the teacher must also realistically assess his own available time and determine what resources are available. Preparation time is obviously extensive for some of the techniques mentioned in this chapter, and the amount of work can be grueling. Thus the teacher must select a project for which he has both the time and energy. He must also consider what resources are available in terms of personnel, equipment, and money. With respect to the latter, however, the teacher need not refrain from planning something new simply from an unfounded fear that no funds will be available, for few administrators will automatically reject a proposal that has been carefully planned and for which sound arguments are presented.

The rewards for finding the proper context for a particular group of students are worth the effort involved in seeking this context. When a language comes alive in a context the student finds meaningful, the teacher finds students who are eager to achieve those goals that the teacher has set for his course. And when students achieve the goals of the program, the teacher realizes his own most fundamental objective.

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The changing curricula

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A substantial amount of change seems to be an inherent part of educational systems. Jarvis (28) has pointed out in Volume 5 of this Review Series that in foreign language education all the components of the educational process had changed: The goals were different; the strategies and arrangements for attaining the goals had changed; and the learners came with different experiences and attitudes. The thesis of this chapter is that a year later the change is not only continuing, but its pace has quickened because curriculum development is based upon three basic sources which are continuously evolving: man's categorized and preserved knowledge—the subject-matter fields; the institutions and social processes of our society; and the na-

Curricular sources

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ture, needs, and developmental patterns of the individual to be educated. These three sources are also the basis for the ancient controversies concerning the subject-centered, social-centered, or individual-centered curricula.

Therefore, in this chapter the evolving curricular goals of foreign language education are reviewed; various extant curricula from FLES to college are identified; innovative curricular trends are described; and current curricular strategies and research efforts related to curricular problems are synthesized.

Meeting the changing goals

Definition of curriculum

Teacher and curriculum

A curriculum represents all of the planned foreign language experiences provided by the school to assist students in attaining the designated learning outcomes to the best of their abilities. The responsibility for constructing the curriculum rests primarily with classroom teachers. As new ideas come into focus, it is the teachers who must study and evaluate them in the light of their existing situations. Not only must teachers decide upon goals and state them, but they must also arrange a workable design for achieving the goals. Even when teachers agree upon goals, the designs or patterns selected vary greatly among school systems.

Humane interaction

Montagu (42) states that the purpose of all school curricula should be the education of good human beings, that this should be the primary purpose of all education, and that all else should be secondary. This emphasis on developing good human relations in the classroom reflects the general thrust of current foreign language affective goals which seem to be centered around a humane interaction between teacher and learner and between learner and learner.

Characteristics of a humane school

In the past year three terms have been seen frequently in the literature: *humanization, individualization* and *accountability.* Disick (17), Levy (34), Phillips (48), Valette and Disick (55), and others have urged the foreign language teacher to construct a humane school that treats learners as individuals. A synthesis of their ideas reveals that today's teacher is encouraged to:

1 Focus on options rather than on uniformity
2 Devise a program in which each pupil can move forward with success in terms of his own talents and interests, no matter how diverse they may be

3 Make sure that every pupil is known as a total human being by a teacher-advisor who helps him personally diagnose his needs, plan his program, make and change his schedule, evaluate his results, and plan accordingly for the future

4 Systematically try to interest each pupil in learning more than he thinks he wants to learn

5 Provide a variety of self-directing, self-motivating, and self-evaluating materials and a variety of locations within the school where pupils may study and work under supervision

6 Evaluate an individual's progress on the basis of his own past record rather than by comparison with others in the same group

7 Substitute constructive reports of achievement for the threat of failure as a primary motivational device of the school

8 Create a humane environment in the classroom

The ultimate goal: Person-to-person communication

These considerations should assist us in reaching what Disick (16) considers the ultimate goal of foreign language learning: communication between two human beings. She also cautions against losing perspective and letting isolated innovative trends become mere bandwagons. Jenks (29) adds another dimension, namely that of aiding students in the management of their own needs in the face of perpetual change while emphasizing the culture of other peoples and the interdependence of all humans. The spotlight is focused upon the human being and his relationship with others. Greater importance is placed on cultural goals because they comprise the understanding of a people's way of life as it is transmitted through language. Therefore, an attractive curricular arrangement today is to teach language through culture and culture through language.

Emphasis on culture

The traditional concept of culture–the historical development of a country, its people, music, art, literature–has not been eliminated. These still remain a part of the foreign language curriculum, and there are often minicourses or sections of courses devoted entirely to these topics.

Language and careers

Goals that have received emphasis in some programs and in some regions of the United States more than in others are in the area of career education. In addition, careers that use a particular foreign language are often used as "selling cards" for the language. Career education in foreign languages has not yet been clearly defined nor understood; however, Grittner (23) fears it may be another "bandwagon" which teachers must not ignore but about which they must be cautious. He suggests that if a career is to be a primary motivational factor in a student's desire to learn a foreign language, his learning of the language must have a monetary value on the job market. Yet most of the jobs available to foreign language students or graduates do not require the language as the primary skill needed; rather, the second language is an advantage or embellishment when combined with the more important skills needed. The implication is that career goals in foreign language programs are secondary goals. But regardless of whether they are primary or secondary, foreign languages can and do offer students advantages in many fields.

Students, parents, teachers and goals

Indications are that communication, culture, and career goals have been refined and adapted in 1973 and will continue to influence curriculum development. For the most part, these curricular goals are based not only upon the judgment of teachers, but upon data about attitudes of students and society toward foreign language instruction. Papalia (47) surveyed 500 foreign language students, their parents, and their teachers to identify and rank the goals of foreign language instruction. The responses indicated a substantial difference in the degrees of emphasis (Table 1). The students emphasized speaking; the parents preferred understanding and appreciating the other people's culture; and the teachers were most concerned with understanding the foreign language when it is spoken.

When 1,200 foreign language students at the University of Texas at El Paso were polled (Walker, 57) to determine their reactions to the foreign language program, the majority emphasized the need for more speaking opportunities in the language classroom. They voiced the belief that the primary purpose of language study is to develop speaking ability.

Personalizing goals

Because the emphases on the goals of foreign language instruction may vary from student to student, from parent to parent, and from teacher to teacher, foreign language programs must provide opportunities for all students to pursue goals of personal value. Warriner (58) pointed out in 1971 that a student population more heterogeneous in interests and abilities is now enrolled in foreign languages, and these students need a

TABLE 10.1
Ranking of Foreign Language Goals by Students, Parents and Teachers

Goals of Foreign Language Instruction	Students	Parents	Teachers
To speak the FL in various situations with reasonable fluency and correctness	1	2	3
To provide skills and knowledge pertinent to travel experiences in foreign nations	2	4	4
To understand the FL as it is spoken by native speakers	3	3	1
To read and comprehend books, periodicals, and articles	4	6	6
To recognize the major contributions of the target culture	5	7	5
To understand and appreciate other peoples' way of life	6	1	2
To relate to people in the community that are members of another ethnic group	7	5	8
To write with clarity and correctness compositions, letters, reports	8	8	10
To read and appreciate the literature written in foreign languages	9	9	7
To prepare oneself for a profession that requires the knowledge of the FL	10	10	9

Note: *1* indicates the highest level of ranking and *10* the lowest.

more diversified curriculum. Therefore, the curriculum must be arranged so that each pupil can proceed at his own pace, with learning strategies that are appropriate for him, with a variety of options open, and with emphasis on self-appraisal.

Curricular trends

Looking at the total curriculum fabric, we find in 1973 certain discernible threads woven into a pattern that reflects:

1 Learning of language skills and practice with materials and content of individual choice, according to specific interests
2 Content based on personal experiences
3 Value systems and communication games
4 Content based on humane concerns
5 Confluence of content and process
6 Interest and ability grouping
7 Remedial and enrichment grouping
8 Self-pacing
9 Mastery learning
10 Multiple approaches to learning

Within the past few years the foreign language profession has been witnessing just such a salutary change in language programs. The learner and his needs are now more than ever at the center of curriculum development, and the result is a variety of new courses, new content, and new procedures, as reflected in the following descriptions of programs.

The changing curricula in FLES

Return to the classics

An increasing willingness to offer curricula in languages outside the "commonly taught" French, Spanish, Italian and German is evident on all levels. This shift is exemplified best on the college and secondary school level by the rise in popularity of the "uncommonly taught" modern languages of Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe. Perhaps the most striking example on the elementary school level is the return to classical Greek and Latin. In Washington, D.C. since 1966 an experimental Latin FLES class has been well received and continues to show a steady growth of enrollment, while in Philadelphia there are successful FLES programs in both Latin and Greek that involve more than 10,000 students in 115 schools. These elementary school programs are not meant to provide a basis for further study in the language; the goals are more immediately humanistic than linguistic. Directed primarily toward culturally and linguistically deprived inner-city students, the aim of the classical language programs is to improve their general ability to work with languages, to help their English language skills through the study of word derivations and cognates, and to expose them to a culture very different from their own.

In Philadelphia teachers use a publication called *Look Over the Latin Word*, which deals with English derivatives and cognates and gives children practice in reading and writing them. Masciantonio (39) reported that there has been a formal evaluation of the program and that the findings are: (a) The performance of the Latin pupils on the Iowa Vocabulary Test was one full year higher than that of the matched control pupils; (b) Latin pupils achieved mastery of Latin language skills, knowledge of classical culture, and English vocabulary; and (c) the Latin program has wide support and acceptance among pupils, parents, principals, and regular classroom teachers.

FLES gaining momentum

FLES programs are gaining momentum in many parts of the

United States, especially in those areas where non-English-speaking ethnic groups exist. For example, the Dade County, Florida bilingual elementary programs reported by Alonso (1) show growth in enrollments.

New York City's program at the elementary level is also well received and growing. Lipton (35) reports that in 1973 nearly 25,000 children were taking languages in FLES programs in the city schools, up from 23,700 in 1972. Instituted in 1957, the programs were originally intended to give French instruction to intellectually gifted young children. By 1965 languages were said to be part of an optional curriculum in the elementary grades, and three years later classes in French, German, Hebrew, Italian, and Spanish were being taught to thousands of children. Today the list has been amended to include Latin, Russian, Chinese, and others–the choice depending in part on local school and parental preference. The courses go beyond mere language learning to focus on the cultural contributions of the people being studied as well as building an understanding of others in a polyglot and polyethnic society such as New York City.

Language for cultural understanding

The teaching of culture is gaining more and more support in FLES. In Cincinnati a "twinned-classroom" program was initiated in a second-grade class in which for the first three years slides, tapes, and letters were exchanged between the American children and their peers in various regions of France. During this first phase "language learning had been the final goal and cultural interest a means of achieving it" (Love and Honig, 38). However, in the fourth and fifth years the process was reversed, and language became the means for understanding another culture; the culture chosen for study was not that of France, but rather the completely contrasting culture of Upper Volta in Francophone Africa. The shift toward the study of culture as an *end* is new, and the shift from the European metropolis to other areas of the world is even newer. The results of this twinned-classroom experiment showed that although there was no significant effect on the rate of language learning, the interest of the students in foreign language study was extremely high. Dorenbusch (19) reports that this program, although officially terminated, continues to prosper because of the interest aroused in students, and elementary teachers teach only the foreign culture by using the materials developed in previous years.

Adaptation of LAPs

In identifying other strategies in the teaching of FLES, Larew (31) reports that LAPs can be adapted for use with the FLES student. At Briarcliff, New York, Herney (27) reports that over 90 percent of the pupils are taking either French, Spanish, German or Latin, using Individual Learning Packets. The learning packets are largely self-instructional, enabling a student to proceed at his own pace, start a second language at any time during the school year, and gain varying amounts of credit depending on the number of lessons completed. The students have a daily instruction period in language in the media center, which has learning areas equipped with language consoles, cassette tape recorders, and other aids. Staff involvement in this program includes the foreign language teacher, personnel from the media center, students from nearby colleges, a paraprofessional, and adult volunteers who speak the target language. While no student fails, an 80 percent level of mastery is needed to progress to a new objective.

Peer teaching

For a partial solution to the problem of class size, Barnett (4) suggests another strategy: She encourages the use of peer teaching at the elementary level. In evaluating her peer-teaching program she reported that almost every student had a positive experience as a peer teacher. In addition, through the use of small-group work, several activities were made possible within the same class period.

Lipton (35) reports schools in Queens, New York, are utilizing an expanded concept of peer teaching. Fifth-year students at Bayside High in Queens have prepared their own teaching materials for the FLES program in their school district. They use these materials with pupils in small groups and special project situations while serving as assistants to the foreign language teacher.

Characteristics of FLES programs

When considering both the affective and cognitive objectives of the present curricula in FLES, the following characteristics can be deduced:

1 The broadening of language studies to include more than the "commonly taught" modern languages
2 Focusing on culture to prepare the student for a culturally diverse world
3 Studying the culture of the Francophone and Latin-American world as well as that of the mother country
4 Humanizing the content by making it person-oriented rather than discipline-oriented

The changing secondary school curricula

Shift to student-centered curriculum

A survey of innovative programs from 1972–74 indicates that there is a shift toward humanizing the secondary school curriculum—a shift from cognition to affect, a curriculum that is person- rather than discipline-related. Language teachers are developing and adopting communication exercises, group dynamic techniques, and value clarification exercises that they are utilizing in a variety of ways in the foreign language classroom. In some programs they are used as introductory exercises that encourage students to interact with one another and with the teacher in a natural way without waiting to be called on or feeling "out of turn." The rationales and procedures for such programs are described in chapter 7 of this volume.

For an historical and theoretical background of personalization and individualization of instruction and aspects of various extant individualized programs the reader is referred to Phillips' (48) excellent chapter in Volume 5 of this Review Series.

The movement toward personalizing instruction has increased tremendously. A survey of attitudes and behaviors of foreign language teachers (Papalia, 46) indicated that teachers showed a multiplex attitude about pupils and how they should be handled; nevertheless, they exhibited supportive attitudes toward student-centered curricula. Teachers were sympathetic and possessed an optimistic outlook, believing in students' interests and in open interaction in the classroom. Students' responses verified that teachers' classroom behaviors were student centered, that teachers were not authoritarian and arbitrary, and that they increased learning by being sensitive to the needs and abilities of students. In addition, the data suggest that the foreign language teachers have changed from a teacher-centered to a student-centered curriculum and are offering diversified curricula.

Curriculum diversity through minicourses

The minicourse is an option that the teacher uses to increase this diversity in the foreign language curriculum and to involve the student in curricular planning. Before the development of minicourses, curricula were designed in a lock-step sequential manner. The incorporation of the minicourse contests the necessity of the sequential nature of foreign language study and assumes that each minicourse could of its nature be unrelated and independent from any previous or future minicourse.

Suggested topics for minicourses

Lafayette (30) suggests that it is preferable to offer the minicourse after the second year of normal language study and gives the following reasons:

1 During levels I and II the student gains a basic vocabulary, basic grammar ideas, and a familiarity with basic concepts of culture and civilization. He has been exposed to speaking, understanding, reading, and writing and is prepared for a different approach.

2 After level II most students feel that they have fulfilled college entrance requirements or that the literature emphasis of the next two years may not interest them. Minicourses offer a diversification that will hold the students' interest mainly because they are informative and relevant as well as instructive.

3 The minicourse in foreign language study follows a pattern set by other academic subjects such as English and history. Any student wishing to devote his third and fourth year to a combination of short courses will find the foreign language department offers him that opportunity.

4 In certain cases where the enrollment decline was drastic enough to cause elimination of levels III and IV, the minicourse option serves to attract enough students so that the upper levels may continue along this alternative.

Lafayette lists some topics for minicourses under three categories (p. 4). In all instances the length and specifics of the course are left to the discretion of the teacher.

GROUP I: LANGUAGE

Listening to radio broadcasts
Everyday conversation
Vocabulary building
Games
Reading for fun
Reading mysteries
Personal and business correspondence
Journalism
Reading magazines

GROUP II: LITERATURE

Course on a particular author
Introduction to literature
Literature for a particular century
Course on a specific work
Adolescent literature

GROUP III: CULTURE

Art
Music
Famous people
Geography
History
Current events
Sports
Fashion
Monuments
Politics
Media
Women
Family life
Education
Industry
Trip planning
Traveling
Latin America
Transportation
Recreation and leisure
Living accommodations
Urban and rural living
French Canada
French West Indies
Adolescence

Students as coplanners

Student participation in the development and selection of minicourses is quite high. At Half Hollow Hills High School, Dix Hills, New York, students are involved in the selection of minicourses (Loew, 37). In the early spring before students register for the next year's courses, teachers and the department chairman discuss at length the various possibilities for courses for the next year. The proposed courses are explained either by the teacher who wishes to sponsor the course or by the chairman, and a tentative list is drawn up. Students are asked to indicate four to six preferences and to add others that interest them.

Quinmester program

Alonso (1) reports that the Dade County (Florida) Public School System has a 12-month operational program divided into five terms of nine weeks, called quinmesters or quins. Four quins, each worth a quarter of a point, equal the traditional year, and the student may select the four he wishes to attend. The result is a great number of quinmester courses with titles such as: "Say It in French," "Bon Voyage," "En France," "German for Fun," "Advanced German Refresher," "Fun at the Kibbutz," "A Traveler's Bag," "A Taste of Spanish," "Great Writers of Spain," "Classical Myths in Today's World." According to Alonso, these courses are very popular, and her goal is to offer them every nine weeks.

Options for variety of interests

Curricular options for students of varying interests are presented not only through minicourses and multimedia presentations but also by including courses in careers and in interdisciplinary studies of practical nature. In fact, at Hillcrest High School, Jamaica, New York, in addition to Chinese, French, Hebrew, Italian, Russian, and Spanish, students may have the opportunity to study:

"Tour of Spain and Latin America," "Songs and Dances Around the World," "Social Studies in French and Spanish," "A Cultural and Historical Tour of France," "French Conversation," "Spanish Conversation" (beginning, intermediate and advanced), "Commercial French and Spanish," "French West African and Caribbean Literature," "Spanish for Nursing," "Tour of Israel," "Ulpan Hebrew Conversation," "Italian Conversation," and "Italian Opera" (Born, 11).

Career and interdisciplinary courses

The captive student audience in foreign languages is a thing of the past, and the standard curriculum has given way to an increasing number of alternative courses (Benardo, 6). In New York City some newer programs combine a foreign language with career study, such as "Commercial Spanish," "Spanish for Civil Service," and "Spanish for Health Careers." Interdisciplinary foreign language courses are encouraged at the high school and junior high school levels. Thomas Jefferson High in Brooklyn has a biology course taught in French. Math and science are taught in Spanish at Adlai Stevenson High in the Bronx; world geography and American history in Spanish at James Monroe High, the Bronx; and Latin American literature is a topic in Spanish at both Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan and Evander Childs High in the Bronx. August Martin High in Queens has combined foreign language instruction with its central focus upon airline and aircraft industries career courses; conversational French, Spanish, and Italian are also taught. For the future, Bryant High in Queens has a federal grant to develop an interdisciplinary program with languages as a core and including art, music, and social studies. It begins in September 1974.

Business education course

Hackensack High School, New Jersey, currently provides career courses in business education for its students in French, German, Italian, and Spanish (Lavergneau, 32). Students acquire skills and knowledge for personal as well as career use. Secretarial practice, business, typewriting, transcription, record-keeping, office practice, and filing are taught by a score of foreign language and business education instructors. Students maintain correspondence and carry on transactions with the Lester Hill Corporation, a simulated business firm dealing in foreign and domestic products. This make-believe corporation is housed within the school building and is operated like a Wall Street firm.

Role-playing for cultural values

For those individuals who have not had prior exposure to the language and who are not interested in the traditional basic-level language sequences, Randolph High School, Massachusetts, has developed cultural courses (Born, 11). "The French Way" is a course conducted in English in which the student plays the role of a traveler in France. At the end of the year he learns to understand aspects of the French way of life by participating in such activities as French sports, games, cooking, and shopping.

The course is conducted in French and gives students who have had prior exposure to the language the opportunity to converse in practical situations. Similarly, "The Spanish Way" is for those students who have not yet taken courses in Spanish. Those who enroll in this class learn about life today in both Spain and Latin America. Opportunities to learn simple and practical Spanish conversational expressions are provided throughout the courses. These types of courses conducted in English are aimed at promoting greater cultural understanding of the peoples of the world.

Use of radio and television in the classroom

Another way to accommodate the interest of today's foreign language student is through the use of media in the classroom. Some programs transmitted on radio and television are practical and of personal value to the student; therefore, the use of such media could be self-motivating. Therrien (53) at Highland Park Senior High School, St. Paul, Minnesota, used shortwave radio to stimulate interest and to add a practical dimension to the curriculum. Initially, the class studied short news articles, weather, and sports reports. Later, missing-person bulletins were added; the vocabulary was descriptive and more complex. All radio programs used in class were recorded to be studied by students individually as well as in the group. Scripts were also provided. Student preferences in material tended toward feature articles such as fashion and sports, but news was introduced to broaden the perspectives of the students. Eventually it dominated the program.

Media and listening comprehension

The most important results determined by Therrien were twofold. First, the students were made aware of their inadequacies in listening comprehension. Until this time students had been exposed only to graded materials, their teacher, and each other. This fostered a false self-confidence which was shattered by the initial sessions. Second, this false self-confidence was replaced by a well-founded confidence in their abilities to comprehend spoken French. At first the students feared the broadcasts, knowing in advance that they would have difficulty in understanding any of the substance. As they learned vocabulary and continued listening, their abilities to comprehend increased. Their advance preparation was assimilated in such a manner that they increased their knowledge and proficiency rather than simply memorizing lists of words.

Mohr and Lally (41) indicate that films and television programs could replace shortwave radio transmission. *Bonanza* is readily available in most languages, and *Gunsmoke* is available even in Japanese. However, these films lack cultural authenticity.

Teachers and other professionals are developing a variety of curriculum materials to aid in the implementation of their curricular designs. In organizing curricula, teachers use learning packages, UNIPACS, programs of instruction, guidesheets, and worksheets.

Elements of autotutorial materials

The essential ingredients of these materials are:

1. The concept, skill, and appreciation that the pupil is to acquire
2. The specific subconcept of a particular segment
3. Definition in behavioral terms so the learner understands specifically what is to occur and how he will know that he has achieved his goals
4. A pretest so that the learner knows what he already has achieved and what remains to be accomplished
5. A variety of learning strategies that he may follow: read what, do what, listen to what, view what, take a trip where
6. A self-test to enable the learner to know he has accomplished the required learnings
7. An indication of whom to see in case of difficulties

Self-pacing and times: Essential to mastery

Often the traditional curriculum and schedule is organized in such a way that many students do not have enough time to learn. For example, in group instruction a teacher must give two weeks for the learning of a unit, ignoring or laying aside the fact that some students may learn it in a much shorter or longer period of time than others. Learning Activity Packets and Programs of Instruction provide flexibility to the traditional curriculum and facilitate learning by presenting the content in a structured and sequential manner and by allowing each student to proceed at his own pace. A key to mastery is time, and the amount of time a student needs to learn a given task under optimal learning conditions varies from student to student.

Therefore, the essential virtue of these materials is the inclusion of the criterion-referenced or mastery learning concept, which allows each student to learn at his own rate—not necessarily a rate completely under the control of the student but one that is necessary and efficient for him. In addition, the materials make the student more aware of his progress because of the specificity of his learning tasks.

Structure and learning

Classroom structure does influence learning. It can be externally imposed by the teacher or self-imposed as a result of personal interest in the content and in the learning activities.

Freilich's (21) flexible-classroom approach demonstrates the importance of considering structure in the process of individualizing the curriculum. In her classroom half of the class period is taught in a fairly traditional manner; the rest of the period is devoted to students working alone or in groups, with the faster students helping the slower ones on prescribed assignments. Puzzles, games, tapes, worksheets, and textbooks are made available for student use.

At Ridgefield High School, Connecticut, Moore (43) reports an alternative minicourse program which divides the year-long courses into distinct quarters, thirds, or fifths. In September the classroom teacher discusses with students how they would like the year divided and incorporates student input in designing and structuring the course.

Students have a similar input in the Total Immersion Language Program (TIP) in Commack High School North, Long Island, where a variety of minicourses such as cooking, current events, conversation, and group dynamics is offered in French (Morel, 45).

In Mountain View, California, teachers have developed curriculum units for use in their program referred to as "Individualized Foreign Language Islands." Through the use of modules students are scheduled into the "islands," regardless of their level at whatever time is most convenient for them. Vidal (56) reports that the curriculum units are highly structured, but they individualize instruction through extensive use of organized small-group activities. Every student is encouraged to help others in the room.

Different needs, different curricula

All of the foregoing curricular approaches indicate that there are many possible ways to meet different needs through a variety of curriculum models. Flexibility is important in promoting good attitudes toward the study of foreign language.

Key characteristics of the preceding foreign language curriculum designs include the use of one or more of the following elements in organizing the content: minicourses, LAPS, mastery learning, peer teaching, multimedia presentations, total immersion programs, flexibility in planning, and a multidimensional approach to learning. The content to be learned is dictated by the use to be made of it (Tursi, 54), and unique characteristics require diversified curricula (Dodge, 18).

Changing curricula in the community college

At most community colleges the foreign language programs are directed not only to the four-year liberal arts transfer students, but also to those students entering the work force upon graduation. The four types of students enrolled at community colleges include:

Heterogeneity of enrollments

1 Those using the college as a stepping-stone to a four-year institution
2 Those with career or vocational interests who are seeking training in technical programs
3 Those in a program of continuing education—adults or full-time workers
4 Those participating in noncredit courses—people expecting to travel and community groups wanting to deepen their knowledge of their culture, sponsoring activities such as foreign films, dance festivals, and travel lectures

Terminal courses: Aim and designs

Such a heterogeneous enrollment has spurred an increasing trend to create terminal language courses in which a goal related to the needs of the students is set and achieved. These are not courses designed for the future major but for the student who may want to focus on a particular aspect of the language. Usually the objective is to understand the language on selected topics of interest and to make oneself understood.

Since business departments and social service areas are involved with curricula designed to prepare students for employment and to expand the training of people already in the field, programs in the training of secretaries, policemen, salesmen, businessmen, and technicians are innumerable.

The Department of Foreign Languages at Staten Island Community College has developed special courses in the medical and social services areas and uses a manual (Bomse and Alvaro, 8, 9) that contains authentic conversation between professionals or paraprofessionals and their clients. This course is offered in day or evening sessions to students enrolled in nursing, prenursing, and laboratory technician curricula. Along with these internal programs, similar training is offered to personnel in hospitals and nursing schools.

On-the-job language learning

Tamarkin (52) reports that Manchester Community College also offers a series of audiovisual career courses. Short dialogues are videotaped on location for better role simulation. Some video tapes deal with emergency situations, hospital admissions, pregnancy, taking a blood test, taking an X-ray, occupational therapy, and dental hygiene. The units provide for complete sensory immersion of the student into the language situation. Actual instruments of the future occupation are handled in job simulation in the classroom.

Simulating reality

Language and law enforcement

Monroe Community College, Rochester, New York (Rozwell, 50), offers courses for police officers. In the courses Caribbean Spanish is the model for pronunciation, and regional vocabulary used by the local Spanish speakers is incorporated. A feature of the program is the use of native speakers in mock interviews dealing with incidents such as a car accident, a traffic violation, an arrest, a search, and an interrogation.

Although Rivers (49) states that there is and always will be a place for the continuing course concept in the community college for those who want and need it, the changing emphasis in community college foreign language programs reflects a continual movement toward the terminal course concept with an emphasis on specific goal attainment. There is some evidence to indicate that this shift in curricular emphasis has resulted in increased enrollment in foreign language programs at the community college level.

Specific goal attainment

At Brookdale Community College the county residents successfully petitioned for an introduction of practical conversational courses in Spanish, French, and German for college credit. Since these changes were made in the curriculum, Eyde (20) reports that the student enrollment has increased by 11.9 percent and that 90 percent of the Brookdale students in these courses are achieving a degree of fluency that could never be expected in their traditional programs.

The success and popularity of these and other programs l

noted here supports the view that language need not be studied sequentially. Language learning can be directed toward specific communicative goals rather than the practicing of systematically controlled linguistic patterns.

Nonsequentiality of language learning

Altman (2) has stated that foreign language study can be meaningful in any amount as long as this meaningfulness is determined by the learner and not the teacher.

A feeling of accomplishment

The terminal-course concept fulfills these criteria by setting a goal related to the interests and needs of the students and achieves that goal, no matter how long or short the course may be. In terminal courses, all students experience a sense of accomplishment since achievement is related to the concept that the individual will have a complete experience in his foreign language study rather than achieve only preliminary objectives in preparation for more advanced courses he will never take.

For a description of several other programs in the area of career education the reader is referred to Lester and Tamarkin (33).

The changing curricula in colleges

Motivation and second-year student

The curricula of undergraduate courses are being personalized on campuses by concerned and dedicated foreign language instructors. The second year of language study seems to be the most critical for the student who has just finished absorbing the rudiments of first-year grammar and a minimal working vocabulary. Generally, the second year has been used to learn the exceptions to grammar rules, thereby often limiting the student's opportunity to increase his proficiency in the spoken language. As a result, the students have lost enthusiasm for language pursuit.

How then can the instructor maintain student motivation? He must go beyond the traditional textbook of grammar review and readings in literature. The instructor must recognize that the text is only a guide, a supplement to the teacher, not vice-versa.

Survey of students' interests

Rivers (49) in identifying the preferences of liberal arts students at the University of Illinois at Urbana reports that students want to listen and speak more, want to read not only literature but also newspapers and magazines that will keep them informed about current affairs, want to learn more about the people who speak the language and see more films, do not want more grammar or more writing of the language.

Interests varied among the students required to take a foreign language for graduation. The sample was small but represented students of commerce, communications, agriculture, engineering, music, education, fine and applied arts, aviation, architecture, and physical education. According to Rivers, one may say that music students would be happiest with a group of aviation students—talking and listening to each other, singing and making music, reading literature and newspapers and magazines so that they may learn about people and events in other countries. Not even engineers and agriculturalists are interested in only scientific or technical reading, and commerce students are not particularly interested in learning to write the language, read its literature, or enjoy its music. They prefer to listen and speak, to read newspapers and magazines to catch up on current affairs, and to relax with films.

"Keep the language alive"

Gugli (24) supports this point. He developed a course in which students read and discuss *L'Express*. He reports that it is rewarding to see a student who formerly disliked foreign language study plunge into it with new drive after having explored the language from the perspective of his particular academic interest. Walker (57) feels that a successful language teacher is the one who is able to provide students with activities that keep the language "alive."

Benseler (5) has done so in his immersion program at Washington State University. A typical day's schedule includes grammar and review of readings, singing, pattern practice and oral dialogue presentation, slides, and language lab practice. Occasionally even this schedule is altered to include other activities, such as individual study periods, songs before the beginning of a new unit, and small conversation groups. Students are also given time for rehearsal of original skits used later as a means of demonstrating student mastery of the assignments. Other classroom materials used are: a collection of numerous tales, radio plays, cultural readers, songbooks, popular songs; articles and books from students' major fields of interest; nonacademic material including puzzles, newspapers, popular magazines, and slides.

Student background

Fortunately, the foreign language instructor is dealing with a very adaptable subject matter: language. Students bring with them to class a wealth of language expression potential that they have accumulated through their individual experiences. This reservoir of personal experiences can and should be utilized in the classroom.

Use of multimedia

Avanced oral expression is a course offered in the Modern Foreign Language Department at Boston University (Slack, 51). This course incorporates technological equipment such as radio, video tape, television, and the use of continuous-loop tape cartridges in the language laboratory and in the classroom. Students enrolled in advanced oral expression classes listen to taped radio broadcasts of varied lengths and degrees of difficulty. These tape broadcasts form the basis for class discussions. A class is generally divided into three subgroups, each meeting separately in the same classroom. At times, while the instructor converses with the first group, the second may discuss a magazine article, the third may be using a tape recorder. Talk shows, games, and panel discussions which are an authentic part of French television are encouraged and simulated in the classroom with students playing certain roles.

Shortwave broadcast in the classroom

In attempting to enliven the curriculum and to bring contemporary speech and relevant material into the classroom, Mohr and Lally (41) at Marquette University, integrated current foreign shortwave broadcasts into an established German course at the intermediate level. The hardware included a general purpose receiver, tape recorder, and opaque and overhead projectors. The software included taped radio programs. News stories were also broadcast into the classroom. However, they were not utilized in an unedited condition, and they were chosen on the basis of interest and transmission clarity. The reports were then dubbed onto a second tape for classroom and lab/library use. In addition to their content, these short items offered a variety of grammatical constructions and vocabulary.

Film-making project

At Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, Listerman (36) also attempted to achieve some diversity in his second-year German classes while at the same time maintaining the department goals for the course. He felt that a film-making project at this instructional level would directly relate to the goals of the course—reading, speaking, and writing. Several students owned cameras and were interested in photography. Some were enrolled or were interested in radio-television courses, art courses, or drawing. Some music majors recorded appropriate musical selections to be used with the spoken German dialogue, written and read by others. Everyone was personally involved with the project. Because of the enthusiasm and interest aroused by this endeavor, another second-year class undertook a similar project.

Multiple approach to learning

The use of media in the curriculum is not the only means of making a course interesting and relevant to the student. Mini-courses, interdisciplinary courses, immersion programs and autotutorial materials are also used extensively in some colleges. They assist in satisfying the students' needs and interests and are means of sustaining or increasing student enrollments.

McDonald (40) reports that the going-at-your-own-pace feature has been adapted at Lafayette College by establishing a time limit for the completion of a given unit while insisting on unit mastery. The use of student proctors is also incorporated for tutoring and testing students. The instructor's role is that of selecting the materials, organizing the mode of presentation, constructing all tests, and interacting with the students.

It has been established through interviews and surveys of student interests that the majority of students who take the first two years of a foreign language do not necessarily intend to be drawn to literature courses. A foreign language skill is an instrument of multiple use, the first of which is personal enrichment through an expanded cultural horizon made possible by reading, working, traveling, or social encounters.

Toward immediate goals

Whereas university students of some years ago directly related their study of foreign languages to a scholarly preparation for the humanities, the contemporary situation allows students to use foreign language in the immediacy of work contexts which extend beyond the field of arts and letters. A shrinking world due to accessible travel facilities permits an ever-increasing number of students to enhance their academic interests with personal experience in foreign countries. Air travel has brought all countries closer together, and international exchange is common in all areas of the world. Accordingly, foreign language has filtered into the sciences, politics, and businesses of all types.

Career preparation

As a result, foreign language departments of schools should attempt to accommodate a broader range of student interests and needs. Courses should be developed to serve the needs of both academic and nonacademic careers. Several schools have recently emphasized the necessity of career preparation through an interdisciplinary plan of study. Programs vary, but basically they require a cooperative effort that brings academic departments out of isolation. Their resources are pooled to satisfy the needs of the changing curricula. The teaching staffs of language and literature departments must then utilize their skills in a more malleable manner. The faculty of any given department possesses a broad range of personal interests. Often instructors have special areas of knowledge and skills that cannot be employed within the parameters of present literature courses. For example, a teacher who has an avid interest in history gives limited vent to it in a course on nineteenth-century poetry. Another who knows shorthand does not use it at all in the foreign language classroom. Such examples of extraliterary skills among the faculty of language and literature departments are not imaginary.

Use of personal interest and skills

Interdisciplinary programs could revitalize marginal interests and skills of the teaching staff. The student would have the advantage of tailoring a program to suit his career needs by drawing from skills of more than one department. For instance, a conversation course in the German department would devote some of its time to contemporary politics in East and West Germany for the political science major who is specializing in international government and planning to work in the Foreign Service. A journalism student would be offered a conversation course centered around media studies. Innumerable creative writers in Italian literature could be studied in terms of their journalistic contributions. A media-oriented student could be offered studies in French film. The possibilities of setting up specialty interest courses are infinite.

Proposal for interdisciplinary studies

A proposal to supplement present programs in language and literature at SUNY/Buffalo was presented to the foreign language departments (Cline, 13). It provides a mastery of two languages with concentration in speaking, writing, translation, and a specialty in any of the following areas: management, law, media studies, environmental studies, journalism, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, history.

Proposed courses to be offered in the language for certain specialties are: law—"Training in Legal Language," "Legal Systems of France, Germany, Canada, Francophone Africa," "Legal Situation of Writers," "Literature and the Law;" management—"Business and Banking Language," "Commercial Life and Language," "Marxist Writers and Theory," "Business in Literature," "The Book as a Commercial Product;" media–"Film Studies" (e.g., in France), "News Media" (e.g., Russia, Spain), "Journalism" (foreign press), "Journalism in Literature."

Interdisciplinary courses curricula can go far to transcend departmental barriers and enhance student appreciation of the close relationships that language and literature have with other forms of humanistic achievement.

Interdisciplinary programs in action

Cooley (14) announced that the Graduate School of Management of the University of Dallas has developed a new program leading to a MBA degree in international management. This program encourages a one-year externship at a foreign university, designed to improve the language major's fluency and to provide him with the vocabulary indispensible to his future business career. Bilingual students may enter directly into the University of Dallas' MBA program bypassing the externship.

Armstrong (3) reported an undergraduate language management major at Ithaca College, New York. Students in this program combine the study of the Spanish language and culture with course work in Madrid/Barcelona, followed by a business internship with a Spanish firm.

Members of the Department of Language and Literature at the University of Delaware (Bohning, 10) are teaching a four-semester sequence for voice majors in cooperation with the music department. They emphasize pronunciation of the lyrics and expose the students to enough grammar and vocabulary that they can understand and interpret the works they are singing. A Germanist and musician also jointly teach "Literature of the Opera." Courses in classical elements in English and comparative literature are also offered. Area studies courses are offered with contributions from language, history, economics, and sociology departments.

Minicourses in translation

Minicourses in translation have also been used to attract more students to the foreign language classroom. Language in translation has had a place in the curriculum of higher level education for centuries. The learned cultured man of the ages has been identified by his familiarity with the thinking, scholarship, and creativity of cultures other than his own. The objectives of such courses are to broaden the student's horizons, to help him understand his own culture better and to make him a more open understanding person.

Courses in translation reach a larger number of students who might not gain these benefits in the foreign language. They are not a substitute for study in the foreign language but have value in themselves. The interdependence of cultures is stressed.

The foreign language department at Rutgers University (Zatlin, 59) has introduced half-semester minicourses in translation in addition to the usual literature courses for the foreign language majors. The minicourses have been successful and well accepted by nonmajors.

Area studies

There has recently been a movement in language departments toward a broadening of curricula. Area studies are a relatively new aspect of language curricula. A student generally selects a language area and follows up with relevant courses from other departments. Latin American studies seem to be the most prevalent area study and usually include Spanish or Portuguese in combination with history, political science, economics, geography, sociology, anthropology, and even business administration departments. Russian studies generally include language, history, political science, literature, culture, economics, and geography. French studies are widespread and usually involve language, literature, art, and history departments. Area studies seem to be basically career oriented, with many graduates entering into international business or foreign service careers.

Humanities is another degree-oriented field of study. Courses in art, history, literature, music, philosophy, and language are included. At Wayne State University (Dernorsek, 15) freshmen are tracked into interdisciplinary areas of arts and society, creative arts, comparative literature and area studies. Both bachelors and masters degrees are offered. For a selective list of interdisciplinary courses and area studies the reader is referred to the November 1973 issue of the *Bulletin of the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages.*

Diversification

Innovative techniques, media, special courses, and a reevaluation of curriculum and instruction is going on in many language departments at colleges and universities. Language teaching is not only based on literature and the study of civilization, but there are attempts to develop programs involving cooperation with other departments. Such programs offer training to language-oriented students who plan to prepare themselves for a position in business, foreign trade, government, international law, journalism, and other areas of interest to the student.

The changing curricula stress the "keep the language alive" concept, which emphasizes communication. The key is diversity in course offerings, content, and student-teacher relationships. Programs clearly indicate a trend toward emphasizing the needs and interests of the learner.

Curricular research

Which curriculum is better?

Teachers frequently ask these questions: Is Curriculum *A* better than Curriculum *B*?" Is this new approach better than the traditional one? Is Textbook *A* better than Textbook *B*?" To answer such questions, average gains in achievements of students using the new treatment are compared with average gains for students using the old treatment. The results frequently show that there is no significant difference on the average between the two treatments.

The questions teachers ask are the wrong questions. While the difference on the average may be negligible, there are often widely different effects on individuals. For example, Student *A* may have responded favorably and achieved well with the new treatment, while Student *B* responded favorably and achieved well with the traditional treatment. Student *C* did not achieve at all in the traditional program, while Student *D* achieved well with both the traditional and new treatment.

Emphasis on learning styles

Curricular research in foreign language education should be concerned with the learning styles of students. Comparative group studies of two treatments are not adequate when the objective is to demonstrate individual differences in learning style. Such studies require that problems be stated and conclusions be drawn in a differential form. Therefore, one does not ask: Which instructional approach is better? or Which learning environment is better? but includes "for whom" and "for what purpose."

Searching for the best method

Heien (26) states that there are two long-standing research activities in the foreign language teaching profession that are particularly disturbing. One is the continued use of the long-range study to test efficacy of teaching methods for the implementation of curricula, and the other is the search for *the* one best way.

No average student

An individualized curriculum recognizes the fact that there is no "average student." Each is an individual who learns in his own way and in his own time. In other words, each has his own learning style. We should be concerned with learning styles of students and ask new questions: Which students learned with the new treatment? Which students learned with the old treatment? Which students are placed in programs where the treatment is not effective?

Diagnosing learning styles

In diagnosing individual learning styles the observer must consider questions such as: Does the student work best in a small group, large group, pairing one-to-one, or independent study situation? Which sensory factors does he use best? What is his learning tempo? How does he go about solving problems? Is he an *incremental learner* who likes to learn step by step, an *intuitive learner* who leaps to generalizations, a *sensory specialist* who learns better by seeing or hearing, an *emotionally involved learner* who needs interpersonal relations, or an *eclectic learner* who is able to adapt to any learning style?

The courses and curricular approaches described thus far have failed to consider the individual's learning style: *how* the student learns. Research in the interaction of students with instructional procedures is desperately needed. Phillips (48) says that teachers practicing individualization spend a good portion of their time in an attempt to accommodate different learning modes. They eventually discover that one student learns via a discovery method that completely frustrates another, but instruments for facilitating this diagnostic process are lacking.

Searching for different learning styles

Recent psychological research (Bracht, 12) has suggested that no single curriculum provides optimal learning experiences for all students. Much of the experimentation being done in this area is currently referred to as Aptitude-Treatment-Interaction (ATI). This approach places the emphasis on student learning styles to investigate whether aptitudes can be helpful in predicting which learning procedure might help an individual best attain his instructional goals. Aptitude here means any learning characteristic of the individual that increases his probability of success in a given instructional treatment.

A large scale effort to find ATIs for the purpose of individualizing instruction in foreign language classrooms would be quite desirable. However, even if an effective ATI could be found for a student or a group of students studying one language skill, the teacher should still take into consideration the differences in rate of learning and other environmental variables in implementing a foreign language curriculum.

Bockman and Gougher (7) stress the importance of considering the process of individualization as related to classroom learning environments rather than a specific instructional treatment. They state that the instructor's task in individualizing the curriculum is to help provide the precise structure a given individual needs for optimal learning. Restrictive controls for one individual may be growth controls for another. To be able to impose controls at one time and to suggest controls for individuals at other times are important aspects of the art of individualizing the curriculum.

Structure and the learner

Glaser (22) has also proposed that we seek to discover and refine what he called the "new aptitudes," which are personal characteristics describing differential susceptibility to educational environments.

Learning style is related to the degree of structure required by or preferred by a particular student. It is then the instructor's task in individualizing the curriculum to diagnose and prescribe the degree of structure a given individual needs for optimal achievement. In high structure the environment is largely determined by the teacher, and the student himself has little responsibility; in low structure the student is much more responsible for organizing the environment.

Optimal learning conditions

Within the appropriate degree of structure, the student has the opportunity to choose from among several types of materials and instructional techniques on the same topic—a cafeteria of approaches—utilizing materials and procedures that are most compatible with his contemporary learning needs. The appropriate degree of structure accompanied by the availability of materials and techniques from which the student may choose constitutes optimal learning conditions.

Because of the lack of foreign language research on how to relate individual learning styles to appropriate degrees of environmental structure, foreign language teachers seem to be developing curricula that stress the interests of the learner and a more humane relationship between teacher and student and student and student.

Summary

Curriculum is continually changing because it is based on needs of the student, needs of society, and subject-matter knowledge—all of which are constantly evolving. As a cyclical process, curriculum development encompasses the following procedures: selection of objectives and goals of instruction; designation of appropriate content, learning experiences and teaching aids; use of the best techniques of instruction; selection of the evaluation procedures commensurate with the designated objectives and goals; evaluation of materials, learning experiences, and techniques; provision for continuous evaluation and improvement of curriculum.

Therefore, let us begin thinking of curriculum as a tool, which stimulates and directs the active learning capacities responsible for achievement. In our efforts to improve the conditions for learning, we have sometimes given priority to the learners' needs and at other times focused attention on subject matter. Rather than responding to one of these realities to the exclusion of the other, the change in emphasis of the new curriculum is focusing on an integration of the affective and cognitive domain. The most apparent trends are:

1 Cultural, communication, and career goals assumed greater importance in 1973.
2 The total curriculum fabric reveals certain discernible threads in its design: interest and ability grouping; self-pacing; mastery learning; multiple approach to learning; learning of language skills with content of individual choice according to specific interests; confluence of content and process; content based on human concerns; communication games—(learning by playing); learning how to learn; interrelationship between learning style, structure, and content; peer teaching.
3 Key characteristics for the organization of content are minicourses, autotutorial materials, career courses, interdisciplinary courses.
4 Research findings substantiate the fact that different curricula are associated with different patterns of achievement. Students using Curriculum *A* do better than their fellow students on tests which include items not covered at all in Curriculum *B* or given less emphasis there. This may be disappointing for those involved in innovative curricula who hoped to find a royal road to learning. Research suggests that no single curriculum provides optimal learning

experiences for all students and it recognizes the fact that there is no "average student."

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Study abroad and intercultural communication

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Diversity of programs

Few topics are more subject to interpretation and misinterpretation than study abroad and intercultural communication. *Study abroad* is the umbrella term under which are found a large number of diverse programs, from the genuinely valid to the fraudulent. They may enrich or exploit. False claims in one may turn out to be real rewards in another. Intercultural communication, which should be the purpose of study abroad, would seem to have a single focus. It occurs when appropriate meaning is attributed to behavior in another culture, though the true meaning of the message may be elusive. Clearly, international study and intercultural communication have an intimate relationship to each other. The former may well be the most effective means of training for the latter.

Study abroad: Concepts and categories

The concept of study abroad is meaningful but misleading. Reduced to basics, a person is engaged in this activity when he is outside his own country and when he is applying his mind to the acquisition of knowledge about his environment. To some people, the word *study* implies classrooms, books, teachers, re-

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search. To others, it is detailed examination and analysis, observation and involvement. Either interpretation is acceptable, at least in defining the term. What is unacceptable is to include an actual vacation plan or tour which, on close examination, reveals itself to be no more than traveling from place to place with little human contact or extensive free time to "explore on one's own" and with little exposure to the culture (Andrews, 3). "Don't call it 'study abroad,'" admonishes Donald Walsh (99), "if it's merely sightseeing and sitting in cafés." Cosnard (31) does not mince words either when he levels an attack against "rackets" that hide behind the screen of education merely to sell tickets and tours.

Sightseeing not study

What kinds of programs may legitimately claim to be study abroad? The range is broad; the variety is great. They exist on all levels. For a simple beginning, study abroad may be divided into two categories: extended stays and short-term programs. By the former is usually meant a full-term program, such as the familiar "Junior Year Abroad," or a program lasting for a semester. A student may, of course, design his own program, not enrolling in any college or university or signing up with any group, but matriculating on his own in a foreign university.

Categories of study abroad

Short-term programs include summer language study (organizationally sponsored or institutionally based); interdisciplinary studies (art, music, sociology, literature, or science plus the foreign language and culture); family stays, exchange programs; twin-school or twin-town experiments; and one- or two-week travel programs. More and more of the latter are being scheduled during the school year, primarily during the spring vacation for secondary-school students.

Short-term programs

Garraty, von Klemperer, and Taylor (41) have described and categorized the many kinds of programs that exist. Their up-to-date handbook contains practical advice and guidance along with a listing of the year-long and summer programs offered for high school, college, and graduate students as well as for teachers. The Council on International Educational Exchange (53), among its many contributions to the profession in this general area, annually publishes a list of the nonprofit programs specifically for students 15 to 18 years old. Not at all comprehensive, but interesting from the point of view of how individual schools can take the initiative and create their own worthwhile programs, is the listing of seven innovative programs in *Options*

Program listings

and Perspectives, the result of a project co-sponsored by ACTFL and the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (Love and Honig, 66).

Sequential offerings

Highly respected among nonprofit study-abroad organizations is The Experiment in International Living. Teachers are impressed by the number and quality of sequential—as well as "à la carte"—experiences. The Experiment offers many programs that involve international work, for example, "Summer Abroad" and "Semester Abroad" (for both high school and college students), "World Issues" (B.A. level) and "International Career Training" (M.A. graduate-level program). The latter two incorporate on-campus intensive language study under optimal learning conditions and internships abroad (Fantini, 37; Northrup, 70). Another type of program of interest to teachers is that described by Allen (2), in which a culture workshop is held in the foreign country. Participants interview people from all walks of life, and incidents serve as source material for culture packets and units created for classes back home.

Consortia

Stokle (94) reminds us of the crucial need to develop international preservice and inservice programs for teachers. He outlines efforts being made by the Council on International Educational Exchange to promote foreign study opportunities through its Cooperative International Program for Teacher Education. The cooperative consortium arrangements he discusses are also mentioned by Iaquinta (55) as having another advantage: They represent a popular new method of continuing threatened programs and establishing new programs at lowest possible cost.

Paradoxical trends

It may seem paradoxical to speak of "threatened programs" when an increasing number of students and teachers are going abroad. Dernorsek (33) analyses these trends and sounds a warning for the future. She cites two surprising factors, one external and one internal: a decreased willingness on the part of foreign countries to accept us in their facilities and an increased desire on the part of Americans to avoid structured groups and to be on their own.

Total immersion

This second point brings one back to the question of what people are seeking from the study abroad experience. At least some see it as an opportunity for total immersion in a foreign language and culture. They willingly separate themselves from the security of family and the comforts of home for a time. They voluntarily place themselves in a kind of exile. The most serious of them even cut themselves off as much as possible from contact with other speakers of their own language, so as not to create a cultural island in the wrong sea. Willing to work hard to achieve their goals, some students see the foreign experience as an important endeavor; they fully intend to come home intellectually enriched and fluent in the language. It is for this type of student who has clear personal goals and a strong desire to be master of his own destiny that the Institute of International Education (5) publishes its guide and checklist of things to consider when planning foreign study, and Reinert (82, 83) writes his practical recommendations for the student "on his own" in Europe.

Student goals

Not everyone who wishes to go abroad can or wishes to handle his own planning. Nor does every student have a clear picture of what the study abroad experience can mean to him and what he can hope to gain from it. Furthermore, few high school students have any idea of the great number of choices open to them. Educators who believe in international study have the responsibility to guide students in the right direction and to inform them of their rights and their responsibilities, their options and their opportunities.

Increased language skills

Learning incentive

Do educators believe in international study? Most do, because even a brief time spent abroad seems to have a potent effect on a student's language skills (Carroll, 25). In speaking of college language majors, Carroll goes on to state that, on the average, those who do *not* go abroad do not seem to be able to excel in their foreign language study despite training. To name all the benefits of study abroad is not the purpose here, but one advantage that is of great interest to teachers is the motivational focus it gives to home-based foreign language programs (Beusch, 11; Lavergneau, 64). The possibility of participating in the foreign culture and actually using the foreign language are powerful incentives for study and merit attention in these days of falling enrollments.

Evaluation and accreditation

Because educators do believe in the value of study abroad and because they are concerned about what is best for the student, they have been paying a great deal of attention in the past few

Quality of programs

years to the quality of programs. There has been much talk about evaluation of programs and the need for an accreditation plan, and many words have been written about guidelines. One of the first to sound the warning of possible exploitation of youth in the new study-travel boom of the 1960s was Dr. Stephen Freeman of Middlebury College, whose "Criteria for Evaluating Foreign Study Programs for High School Students" (39) was adopted as a policy statement by the National Council of State Supervisors of Foreign Languages in 1966 and endorsed by ACTFL in 1968. Even earlier, in 1964, Freeman (40) warned that the undergraduate international study situation was threatening to become a "national educational scandal."

State departments of education have taken up the banner, led by their own state consultants and prodded by complaints from citizens whose children were disappointed by false or misleading claims made during the promotion of programs and by loss of fees in some cases. In Connecticut, State Congresswoman Ella Grasso introduced legislation to require the registration of travel agents by the Secretary of Transportation, after a costly and heartbreaking incident involving about 300 students whose prepaid spring trip to France was cancelled at the last minute. State authorities in Maryland believe that parents and teachers are too often unaware of the legal, financial, and ethical implications of unapproved and unendorsed programs (51). The National Education Association is concerned about this very thing and calls attention to the professional Code of Ethics (35). The NEA (95) also bluntly states that not every person is qualified to be a chaperone/adviser of a study group abroad, and the organization that indiscriminately employs as chaperone any teacher who simply recruits a certain number of students places its motives and standards in question.

Legislation introduced

Code of ethics

Another redoubtable group concerned about the quality of international education is the Federation of Regional Accrediting Commissions of Higher Education. This organization contends that self-regulation and evaluation should have accompanied development of programs but did not; thus, growth, diversity, and proliferation have increasingly necessitated some form of effective review and assessment. The FRACHE interregional pilot evaluation report (36) was accompanied by a policy statement on foreign study programs and by guidelines for evaluation (Pfnister, 77). In similar guidelines drawn up

Evaluation project

by the North Central Association for younger students' programs (49), principals were cautioned not to give personal endorsement to any program even if it did meet the guidelines. In spite of the strong feeling that it is our responsibility as professionals to evaluate the various study-abroad programs and to publish the evaluations (Walsh, 99) and that the most pressing problem continues to be the need for establishing standards or criteria to judge the effectiveness and seriousness of purpose of the many institutional and commercial programs available (Dernorsek, 33), some experienced evaluators now feel that this is an almost impossible task (Phillips, 78). Evaluation of programs by American accrediting agencies presents great difficulties because of the lack of both competence and funds for a project of such scope. The regional agencies may even withdraw accreditation on the basis of their inability to perform a high-quality fair service.

Accreditation difficulties

All of this throws the professional responsibility for program quality back on the sponsoring institutions themselves, which are encouraged to pursue a rigorous self-evaluation (48). How this was done conscientiously from the beginning in the ACTFL/CIEE Study Abroad Program is described by Bendon (10). Cosnard (31) reflects the assent of organizers of nonprofit academic programs in general when he states that a professional organization:

Professional sponsors

1 does not cater any of its services; it runs everything itself; it is obsessed by sound use of locales, people and time in the target countries, never forgetting, however, that it cannot *control* foreign institutions and that cooperative efforts are essential
2 knows that international education does not sell wholesale, that the care for and understanding of each student's reaction to a foreign milieu must be monitored separately
3 is always open to inspection, criticism, and improvement.

Recalling that the ultimate responsibility for and the effect of what happens to young people in our society falls back on society itself, and in particular on the parents, Papalia (75) offers some questions that might be asked before selection of a program to ensure that students will benefit to the greatest extent from their experience abroad.

Communication takes place when a message is sent and received. There need be no outward response to the message. The message need not be expressed verbally. Two messages may even be transmitted at the same time by the same sender to the same receiver, and the nonverbal expression of the sender may conflict with or add meaning to the spoken words. Nelson Brooks (18) theorizes that the surface concept of communication is transfer of thoughts and messages, but that the core concept of communication is sharing, imparting, and holding in common. This does not necessarily imply agreement or conformity, according to Stewart (93), who claims that in some cultures communication based on differences is readily accepted. The notion or concept of intercultural communication automatically includes the necessity of comparisons and contrasts in all statements. Hayakawa (52) defines semantics as the study of human interaction through communication and goes on to remind us that communication leads sometimes to cooperation and sometimes to conflict. Because cooperation is preferable, Porter (81) recommends that we concern ourselves with intercultural communication on both the domestic and international levels, setting forth criteria within which intercultural research should be conducted. Porter gives credit to Hall and to his book *The Silent Language* (50) in the early 1960s for the surge of interest in intercultural communication.

Concepts of communication

Intercultural communication

Language, as the vehicle of communication, is the major concern of every foreign language teacher. Yet certain aspects are sometimes ignored. Jakobson (56) reminds us that, for the study of verbal communication, it is necessary to face the fact that any speech community and any existing verbal code lack uniformity; everyone belongs simultaneously to several speech communities, and each one diversifies his code and blends distinct codes. Even so, people usually display a narrower competence as senders of verbal messages and a wider competence as receivers.

Verbal trends

Receiving is not always synonymous with understanding. Winograd (103), discussing computers and artificial intelligence, observes that understanding language is a skill that all normal people take for granted. Like breathing, we do it all the time without conscious effort and only think about it when com-

Computers

munication breaks down. Language consists of a finite number of discrete bits that can be combined into an infinite number of highly complex messages (Wilden, 101). Because we know so little about the complexity of the language system, we are still unable to write programs that will let a computer talk back with even the skill of a five year old.

Sign language

Can we find out about the general process of language learning by studying its acquisition in another modality? Bellugi and Klima (9) claim that the study of sign language gives us insight into the structure of language and the universality of communication and that, even more, it attests to the richness of human intelligence and imagination. Another culturally significant observation is that deaf persons in Britain use a sign language that is radically different from that used by deaf Americans.

Nonverbal communication

Another kind of "sign language," used by all humanity, is nonverbal communication. Kinesics, the study of the patterned body motion aspects of human communication, is a subsystem of linguistics. Research in kinesics suggests that we communicate a great deal more than we say (Beier and Gill, 8). Green (45) points to Julius Fast's best seller *Body Language* (38) as evidence of the popular interest in nonverbal behavior and states that the classroom presentation of authentic gestures is a legitimate and useful activity in the teaching of the foreign language and culture. Certainly nonverbal communication is an important two-way street for the person immersed in a foreign culture. Body language, facial expressions, eye contact, posture, proxemics, and timing are all as important as words for understanding and being understood. Sometimes participants in a good study abroad program learn the foreign gestures and expressions so well that they have a problem when they come home again (Brislin and Van Buren, 17).

The foreign language teacher faces a tremendous challenge in teaching communication and culture. Both are language. Both are behavior. The approach to both as behavior leads us directly to an emphasis on speech as a primary, if not the most significant, key to the culture of another group. Yet "an understanding between men rests upon something more than linguistic interchange; its roots extend into the cultural earth in which the men in question have their origins (Starr, 91, 92). Grittner (47) sympathizes that it is clearly not possible to teach all the nuances of meaning and all the emotional overtones that come as second nature to the native speaker. Yet, if foreign language learning is to be anything more than a troublesome secret code used to express what the student already knows, the student must come to realize that few real equivalents exist across cultures.

Wight and Hammons (100) come to the aid of the instructor in their *Guidelines for Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Training.* Provided in this guide are examples of specific methods and techniques to implement training in behaviors and skills that would prove useful in an intercultural setting. Teachers might also profit by becoming familiar with the conceptual approach or inquiry as a teaching strategy. The conceptual approach is a way of focusing on and analyzing significant patterns of behavior that have been developed to provide for man's needs (30). As an approach to intercultural studies, it allows us to compare the necessary and vital differences among groups as we reach out to affirm human unity. Porter (81), however, finds crosscultural comparisons insufficient; he insists upon the necessity for investigation of speech communication situations where interpersonal relations occur between members of different cultures. These intercultural interactions must be observed in the settings in which intercultural communication normally occurs. This brings us back to another rationale for study abroad, for both language student and language teacher.

Conceptual approach

Intercultural interaction

Are there lessons to be learned at home too? Carpenter and Plaza (24) speak of an "intercultural dimension" permeating the regular curriculum in our schools. They argue that some of the objectives of the international experience, such as cross-cultural communication skills and personal openness, are identical to those of the domestic intercultural experience, and they make an appeal to reform our ethnocentric K–14 general education curriculum by the infusion of intercultural dimensions. If this were done, the home base might prove to be an excellent training ground for future international interaction and reduce the friction spoken of by Bailey (4): "Proliferated contacts without understanding can produce sparks—sparks especially dangerous in a world still cluttered with the tinder of sovereign egos, competitive claims, language barriers and cultural chauvinism."

Domestic intercultural experience

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Study abroad and incentives for communication

Communication incentives

What makes the study-abroad experience, in theory at least, the best means of training for crosscultural communication? First, we might ask ourselves: What *are* the incentives for communication? What makes one human being want to send out signals to another? Obviously, he wants to convey a message which he hopes will be received, accepted, obeyed, or answered. He may have a desire to demonstrate an emotion, a desire to share a feeling, or a desire for feedback, for fulfillment. Acceptance is a powerful incentive for communication and can be characterized as being of two "voices": active and passive. The "active voice" of acceptance is the pulling toward oneself, the expression of affection. The "passive voice" of acceptance can be described as a willingness to receive the other person's feelings. Both of these make communication easier.

Another incentive for communication is the pleasure that it brings. Some people have a natural curiosity; they want to find out things. They enjoy a thirst for knowledge and a spirit of adventure. They take great pleasure in being informed, entertained, intellectually awakened and stimulated. As in a systematic study of culture (Brooks, 21), one source of motivation is the satisfying of an eager curiosity about what life is like in other places and for other people.

Interface

Stewart (93) calls the relationship or rapport between sender and receiver of a message "interface." In his description of communication, he names three interfaces: sympathy (based on similarity); empathy (based on differences but congruent objectives), and trust. Chu (28) studied data on friendship patterns in a multicultural group. To him one necessary condition for congenial communication seems to be a minimum amount of shared symbolic usage, whether verbal or nonverbal, for expressing affection and emotion. A sixteen year old in an exchange program felt that her success in learning to communicate with her host family was due to her own strong desire and effort (89). She accepted the challenge fully and gained a more positive image of herself and of her own American culture as a result.

Facilitating communication

What are the characteristics of study abroad, then, that lend themselves to facilitating communication? Total immersion in the culture and bombardment with the language certainly top the list. Although Bicknese (12) reached the conclusions that integration into the host society should be gradual and that the target-language-only rule should be based on voluntary cooperation in "Junior-Year-Abroad" programs, the unique structure and composition of the ACTFL/CIEE "High School Study Abroad Program," which ran for six weeks in the summer, thrived on immediate and total immersion (Bourque and Bourque, 15). Key roles in its success were played by the university-age native French group leaders and the French peer group of *camarades*, to whom the Americans related immediately. In contrast to the experience with some programs, the Arcachon participants suffered no culture shock in spite of the rapidity of their immersion. At the end of the program, however, they underwent a kind of "reverse culture shock" when they had to say good-bye to their friends, French and American. A strong *esprit de corps* had developed in six weeks, born of enthusiasm for the excitement of their mutual endeavor and a need for each other.

Culture shock

The absence of culture shock in a foreign study situation is the exception rather than the rule. The literature on study abroad mentions this phenomenon frequently. Culture shock is an experience of personality in culture; it is a series of psychological events that occur in the initial phases of a person's encounter with a different culture. It has to do with problems of adjustment to the new environment, difficulties in interpersonal relationships, acculturation, and communication deficits (Adler, 1; Hoopes, 54). Adler believes that culture shock can be lived with and suggests viewing it not as an illness but as a profound learning experience that leads to a high degree of self-awareness and personal growth. Seelye (87) believes that culture shock can be avoided or minimized through proper cultural instruction.

Reverse culture shock

Reverse culture shock is mentioned by Brislin and Van Buren (17), who found this phenomenon to be a common experience of people with multicultural orientation. The East-West Center at the University of Hawaii offers a seminar to train for the return home. The content includes the personal aspects of returning home and dealing with family, the return to jobs and colleagues, the business of readjusting nonverbal behavior, and the maintaining of crosscultural relations.

Necessity is another element that stimulates communication in the typical intercultural situation. The participant feels an urgency to interpret essential messages and signals so that he will know how to operate in the foreign system, and he needs also to have his own messages understood. If he has been fortunate enough to have received kinesic instruction, it will be reinforced and internalized now (Green, 45), and he will find it extremely helpful. The stimulation of new surroundings and unusual experiences will bring a heightened awareness, increased sensitivity, and greater receptivity. Bostain (14) comments that to operate effectively with anyone it is necessary to learn to "read" his behavior. An awareness of two points can do wonders. Everybody is sending out signals all the time, and the other person is operating in a different system. Tongue in cheek, Bostain states: "Ninety-five percent of the world uses un-American signals!"

"Reading" behavior

Kalivoda (59) correctly asserts that even the most outgoing student suffers under a program that relies on culture and language learning through chance experiences. Nothing should be left to chance; a good program will be carefully planned. Flexibility can be built into well-structured activities. The role of the program director is to seek out places where young people congregate, to invite young natives to songfests and sports competitions. Griffith (46) gives an excellent description of what a program director should be; he too plays a role in facilitating communication for students. The staff of a foreign study program should be selected with care; they should be natives, and their rapport with young people should be of the utmost importance; they will need to do much counseling as well as teaching. As Madden and Powers (67) point out, the nonacademic aspects of international education are frequently the factors that contribute most significantly to the success or failure of a venture from an academic standpoint. Nonacademic counseling has proved to be essential if an institution is to achieve the desired goals from foreign programs. These goals, usually mastery of the cultural system and of the language, will complement each other, and each will ease the acquisition of the other (Dillard, Miller, and Stewart, 34).

Program director

Counseling

Study abroad and barriers to communication

Culturally built-in barriers may keep people from different cultures apart without conscious avoidance. Chu's (28) hypothesis is based on the nature of reward in friendship; in informal communication we exchange verbal and nonverbal symbols that are rewarding to both participants. He thinks it conceivable that people from one culture may not find it rewarding to interact with people from another even though they may have ample opportunity to do so. However, a common native language is no guarantee of congenial communication, as we well know, but this is speaking on an individual, not a collective, basis.

Barriers to communication

In general, the barriers to communication fall into three categories: physical, intellectual, and psychological. Under physical barriers might be listed disabilities, discomfort, or lack of contact. Under intellectual, we can cite ignorance and deliberate resistance; and under psychological come fear, distortion, interference, and the identity syndrome. Among these obstacles to communication, which are magnified or heightened by the study abroad experience?

Physical factors

Consider first the physical factors that may interfere with a participant's ability to communicate in the foreign language. Is he surrounded by Americans most of the time, virtually isolated from natives? Is he exhausted from extensive travel or a heavy academic schedule? Is he ill from adjustment to a new diet? Does he have a hearing problem or visual defects? Are psychosomatic factors at work, creating a vicious circle of physical and mental incapacitation (homesickness, tension, frustration)? The strain of trying to communicate may act as a barrier to friendship. Relationships are affected as students succumb to the feeling that one does not appear as one really is anyway and that the unsatisfactory results are not worth the trouble of trying to communicate (Garraty, von Klemperer and Taylor, 41).

Intellectual factors

Many students enter the foreign country poorly prepared. Not only do they have an inadequate vocabulary, but we are failing to teach our language students authentic responses to social situations they will encounter (Morain, 68). A number of foreign language educators feel that students should be better prepared culturally and linguistically before they go to study abroad (Brooks, 20; Gorden, 44; Morain, 69; Nostrand, 71, 73). Several recommend measurement of cultural knowledge or crosscultural understanding (Carroll, 26; Morain, 68; Nostrand, 74; Seelye, 86). Gorden (42) offers a crosscultural communication packet that is aimed at providing insight and helps students learn to recognize the symptoms of miscommunication even when they themselves are involved in the interaction. In another publication, Gorden (43) explores nonlinguistic barriers to communication between North Americans and Latin Americans. He believes that communicators must share common beliefs and values as well as vocabulary, syntax, and grammar. Otherwise, even fluent people may not be able to communicate meaningfully or compatibly because they do not understand the "silent assumptions." A culturally ignorant fluent speaker can actually do more social damage than the less fluent person who can only gesture sincerely; the former is not forgiven for cultural *faux pas* as the latter might be.

Silent assumptions

Thus, communication between persons of different cultural backgrounds can be hindered by culturally conditioned assumptions that they make about each other's cognitions. Kraemer (62) has designed an exercise to reduce this effect through increased cultural self-awareness. It involves participants in analyzing video recordings of staged "excerpts" from intercultural dialogs that contain subtle manifestations of cultural influence, while noncultural influences are varied from excerpt to excerpt. This process gradually brings into focus the cultural influence and corrects the false assumption. Student-produced minidramas can be analyzed in a similar way to increase cultural awareness. Techniques leading to a creative use of minidramas are described in *The French Teen-ager* (Bourque, 16).

Lee (65) lists tendencies of ethnic groups that constitute barriers to communication:

1 The tendency of one group to restructure the other group's language according to the rules governing its own (interference)

2 The tendency to assume that they know how the terms being used are being used (projection misevaluation)

3 The tendency to consider statements containing many-valued variables as if single-valued (simplicity-clarity principle)

4 The tendency to reject new patterns of thought and expression found in the other group's linguistic system, simply because they are different (mental blocking)

The problem of meaning in crosscultural situations, resulting from different patterns of thought, requires comprehension of the basic rules or patterns of these thought systems; Cadart-Ricard (22) suggests seeking comprehension through units of analysis. Bostain (14) comments that one of the greatest stumbling blocks is our conviction that our own behavior is rational, right, and universal and that we may evaluate other human behavior on that basis.

Psychological factors

The most serious psychological barrier to communication is identity consciousness and the interference it causes. Pindur (80) reminds us that young people are very much concerned about peer-group relationships and that they go through a stage in which they do not want to appear "different." As we try to impose a strange new culture on them, they become defensive and reject its values. Even when they realize that they should try to understand the other culture, they are most eager to explain their own (Beusch, 11). Any person attempting to express himself in a foreign language may become painfully sensitive about his own identity and fearful of not transmitting his true thoughts and his true personality. This fear is not without justification because, as Kalivoda (60) points out, misunderstandings often cause a person to draw conclusions about the other's character. Furthermore, misinterpretation of signals, such as laughter, gestures, and body language, can cause an immediate and serious breakdown in communication.

Overcoming the obstacles

Both experts and amateurs in the field of study abroad feel that the touchstone of success is orientation (102). According to Raymond C. Clark (29), Director of the Master of Arts in Teaching Program at the School for International Training, there is no substitute for good preparation for a study-abroad experience. Total in-country training is inefficient. Clark states that a predeparture orientation/language training period is more effective than a sudden and total immersion in a foreign culture, particularly for those students who are undertaking their first foreign experience or who are bound for "difficult" cultures.

Predeparture preparation

Directors of smaller programs agree. Those with several years' experience in study-abroad programs recommend that the orientation be year long. Smigo (90) claims that Maryland students have had very few difficulties with character conflicts, culture shock, or crosscultural misunderstandings and attributes this to a full-year orientation program and to the involvement of students and their families. Sellman (88) also makes use of extensive preparation, involving community and public relations efforts, as well as follow-up after the students' return. Her materials are an excellent example of conscientious organization and planning on the part of an individual teacher. Pigo (79), another Maryland teacher, found the usual orientation not extensive enough and wrote a travelers' German course for her students. An interdisciplinary course at her school that prepares students to deal with crosscultural information is one designated as "Ports of Call"; it concentrates on Germany, Russia, France, and Spain for 10 weeks each. Hackensack, New Jersey, boasts a "Living Language Club" which gives every student interested in foreign language the opportunity to travel abroad. The club meets weekly to discuss customs, hear lectures, and see films. Members deposit money weekly in a travel account; these payments may extend over a three-year period (Lavergneau, 64). Darcey (32) described and distributed as handouts at a Northeast Conference Workshop on Study Abroad the type of orientation materials that should be prepared for participants and families.

Year-long orientation

The University of Wisconsin-Green Bay has gone even further with the concept of orientation (Wallach, 98). It has made culture part of its curriculum. Students are required to take one semester of work preparing them for the crosscultural experience. The actual experience is offered the following semester. One option is a one-month field trip to Europe under the supervision of an instructor familiar with the culture and the language. Knowledge of the language by the student is optional. However, this program is proving a strong motivational force for language study.

Semester orientation

Not only the enrollment, but also the effectiveness of language programs, is often attributed to the motivation provided by an imminent overseas experience. Wallace (97), however, insists that not all the credit should go to motivation. Quality of program is still of utmost importance. The essential effectiveness of intensive language programs, such as those conducted by the Peace Corps and The Experiment in International Liv-

Motivation

ing, was tested in a 1971 experiment. None of the participants was going overseas immediately, yet in a three-week intensive program, an average improvement of 25 percentile points was shown on the MLA Proficiency Tests. This tends to support the inherent worth of intensive training apart from its connection with study abroad. The worth of intensive language training in the United States prior to the sojourn abroad was also supported by Carton and Carroll (27) following an experimental Russian summer language program to which a rigorous evaluation and a specific testing project were attached. Results showed that travel alone (as opposed to study), can be significantly profitable, particularly in competence in the language, for well-trained students. This could give encouragement to groups of students, such as science majors, who need to consider Russian a highly important communication tool (Kosin, 61), but who do not have the time or the inclination to enroll in a four-year program of language.

Intensive program

Intensive language training means enrolling in a special program for a specific limited period of time. What can the average teacher do to make the ordinary year-long classroom experience more meaningful and to increase the students' knowledge of foreign culture? Seelye (84) describes a number of classroom activities and materials for achieving cultural communication and understanding. First, he says, the teacher must know what specific cultural objectives he wants to reach. Of utmost importance to language teachers is a knowledge of factors that affect a student's adjustment to a foreign culture. The teacher who has spent time in the foreign country, who has been a participant himself in a foreign study program, or who has conducted a study/travel program abroad is prepared to define his objectives for culture study. Brooks (19) concurs that learning to see things culturally can be one of the best possible end products of our language courses, but for this to happen, the language teacher himself must first learn to see things culturally. Among the attributes of a good language teacher should be the ability to distinguish "hearthstone" from "Olympian" culture: He must have control of the native language; know the do's and don'ts of personal behavior; understand the pecking order, the giving way to others; appreciate the distinction one must learn to make between truth and falsehood. Seelye and Brewer's (85) study of American adjustment in Guate-

Classroom experience

"Hearthstone" culture

mala should give teachers helpful insights into problems of attitudes, commitments and psychological factors.

Sociocultural research

Jenks (57, 58) offers very practical assistance to teachers "undertaking sociocultural research in the foreign language class." His articles show ways in which crosscultural questionnaires completed "on site" can be directly beneficial to inclass teaching. Such questionnaires have also been used by Bourque (16), Nostrand (73), and Seelye (86). Jenks' "Cultural Observation Checklist" can be used by anyone to record observable behavior among foreigners.

Negative stereotypes

One of the challenges to the classroom teacher—and *not* a simple one—is the holding of negative attitudes toward other cultures by American students. Turning the tables, Gorden gives a list of negative and positive images that Colombians have about Americans (44). Petrello offers suggestions to help break down the stereotypes held by Americans *vis-à-vis* the French. Teachers should be highly conscious of the fact that if the teaching of culture is handled badly in the classroom, rather than with the great delicacy and skill that it deserves, the result will be increased negative attitudes rather than the desired understanding. Lambert and Tucker (63), in a report on the effect of leadership training in a foreign setting, reinforce the idea that teachers bring their own attitudes, their personal biases, their value orientations, and their professional motivations and opinions to a cultural experience and therefore interpret it in different ways.

Perspective and awareness

Batchelder (6) speaks with both humor and poetry about giving students a life-long perspective on their own immediate "center of the world" and on the incalculable number of other centers that exist by enabling them to participate sensitively as crosscultural sojourners in the center of someone else's world. Tamarkin and Tamarkin (96) do just this on their Puerto Rican Cultural Immersion Trip. They use a diary technique combined with a minidrama group meeting technique that is very effective. Agreement among participants was not important; rather, personal observation and increased awareness were the goals. The immediately observeable result was that students became more outgoing and more inventive in their contacts with Puerto Ricans.

Some see a new social role for the foreign language teacher.

> Concern for crosscultural understanding is growing in society in general, in the educational establishment, and within the foreign language education profession. Interest in superficial details is being replaced by a greater sensitivity to differences in peoples' values, assumptions, and modes of thought and feeling (Nostrand, 72, p. 319).

Crosscultural understanding

The need for crosscultural understanding requires an extension of the teacher's competence to include a mature form of that understanding.

Nostrand also points out that the adjustment of American society to cultural pluralism calls for participation in intellectual leadership beyond the clasroom. Cárdenas and Fillmore (23) give insight on the same topic. They quote the November 1972 American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education statement on multicultural education:

Cultural pluralism

> To endorse cultural pluralism is to understand and appreciate the differences that exist among the nation's citizens. It is to see these differences as a positive force in the continuing development of a society which professes a wholesome respect for the intrinsic worth of every individual.

In a multicultural society, children should be learning early that cultural differences involve alternative ways of looking at and doing things and that these differences are not absolute or mutually exclusive.

Global approach

Among the objectives for a global approach, Becker (7) lists developing within students modes of thinking that are free from egocentric, ethnocentric, and stereotypic perceptions. He recommends the establishment of more school programs in international studies. Viewing the international system as a global set of relationships, the interrelatedness of all forms of life, and the necessity of diminishing suicidal intersociety frictions represent both a starting point and a goal for these proposed programs. Becker provides an excellent selected bibliography on international education in his paper.

Summary

1 Preparation for study abroad is a valid part of the foreign

language curriculum, even though a program may not be planned for the immediate future.

2 Teaching intercultural communication and understanding is a valid way of teaching the language, although it may mean abandoning the textbook and writing one's own materials. Authentic materials, collected and combined by teacher and students out of their own personal experience, are the richest of all.

3 Although official accreditation of foreign study programs appears to be an impossible task, the conscience of the profession should make itself heard through individual teachers regarding the quality of international education. We should give our support to superior programs that find it increasingly hard to compete with "bargain" tours.

4 A good orientation program and, if possible, intensive language training should precede the study abroad experience.

5 All study-abroad programs should include follow-up. We are missing the opportunity to gather much valuable information relative to foreign language teaching and to the nature of language and communication.

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12

Developments in preservice and inservice teacher education

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Teacher education as a formal process in the four-year colleges and universities in America has been evolving for a century. In the past 50 years a rapidly increasing amount of information and knowledge has accumulated from practice, research, and the related behavioral sciences.

Lag in using new ideas

We were accustomed to think of "cultural lag" as being especially applicable to the social science areas, but such a lag also occurs between the development of ideas, concepts, new techniques and new arrangements, and their application in practice in a professional field. In this light teacher education has a very dismal record of progress and change. By contrast, an eminent surgeon in one of the country's leading clinics told the writer that in three to six months after a new surgical technique was perfected in one teaching hospital it would be used in most of the other major teaching hospitals across the land.

Medical contrast

Special problems

Indeed, several built-in factors play a significant part in this slow pace of change in the large and complex field of teacher education. The curriculum is still largely designed and controlled by the colleges, but the laboratories are chiefly in other institutions–the public and private schools. Also, significantly, preservice teacher education is not a true professional curriculum, but is normally a minor segment of professional studies inserted into what is really an academic bachelor's degree. But

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the problem lies much deeper than these organizational and operational conditions.

Complex communication problems

An attempt will be made in this chapter to probe into some of these psychological, sociological, interpersonal relations areas as they appear to affect the total scope of preservice and inservice teacher education. The communications difficulty in this complex area of interaction between teachers and learners may be illustrated in part by a Chinese proverb:

> I hear, and I forget,
> I see, and I remember,
> I do, and I understand.

Not only is the task one of communicating the information, but also one of seeing that it is understood; the most difficult task is getting these ideas incorporated into practice.

Concerns of chapter

Three questions served as guides during the search of the literature and the organization and the writing of this chapter.

1 What are some of the areas of teacher education in which communication has been relatively ineffective in the past?
2 What do the literature, research findings, and analyses of current practice have to contribute to understanding and alleviating some of these communication limitations?
3 What are some of the questions or hypotheses that should be used, and what are suggested areas for further study toward improving communication in teacher education?

In an effort to highlight the problems and illustrate developments, or lack of them, references will be included from over a much wider time span than is usual in chapters in this annual Review Series. This author is not, moreover, a foreign language teacher or teacher educator, even though he has worked very closely with foreign language teachers as a general teacher educator most of his professional career. Therefore, most of the references reflect the general field of teacher education.

Teacher education in ACTFL Reviews

In the first five annual Reviews the authors have included a substantial number of the significant writings from the general teacher education literature of each period under review (Altman and Weiss, 1; Cloos, 23; DeLorenzo, 39; McArdle, 91; Wolfe and Smith, 156). Some of the current topics of special emphasis have already been thoroughly and effectively reviewed. Several current issues in teacher education, although prominent in the literature of the last two years, are also omitted from this chapter, chiefly because of space limitations and their less intimate relationship to the theme of communication.

Communications areas in teacher education

The nature and scope of communications problems appear different at various stages and areas of the total teacher education process. A cursory examination of the field provides the following list of areas.

1 The perceptions of students prior to their decision to enter teacher preparation
2 The perceptions of students entering the beginning professional courses
3 The students as learners in professional courses exposed to knowledge about theory, concepts, understandings of learners and self, the roles of the teacher, and skills and attitudes important for performing these roles
4 The perceptions, understandings, and the acquisition of skills by all members of the teacher education team in the field-based school or community
5 The practitioner's task of maintaining and renewing understandings and skills over time and change
6 The varied aspects of evaluation of professional competence prior to and following initial certification
7 The continuing dissemination problem covering the whole range of workers in teacher education and especially throughout the field laboratory
8 The political-fiscal arena where the policies and decisions are made by which material and human resources are supplied to teacher education through the various governing structures of the several states and the federal government

Chapter organization

In this chapter some attention is given to Items 2 through 7 of the above critical communication points. They serve as an organizational basis of the chapter. Item 1 has been dealt with to some extent in previous ACTFL Reviews and should be dealt with again in depth when the supply and demand picture stabilizes, together with a review of research governing professional choice. Item 8 has a peculiar relationship to the teaching of foreign languages in this period of changing curricular requirements and the opening of second language classes to all students.

Communication in teacher education

Effective teacher education must depend upon good communication throughout the whole scope of the process, but distilling a simple analysis of the place of communication proves to be difficult. Several recent writers address themselves to this point.

Use of language

Marya Mannes, author and critic, encourages the present generation to advance the use of language, "toward its fullest and highest potential" (79, p. 75; 88). Deploring the great amount of present perversion of language, she spoke particularly to several of the more public professions, including teaching, urging them "to use language to change people . . . to shed light, not spread evasion." In addition, Mannes suggests that degeneration of language by special groups may be a ploy for power under a mask of platitudes and a front of sincerity. Her analysis also reflects the irritation of many teachers with the highly complex and specialized vocabulary of researchers, writers, and innovators in education–often spoken of as an incomprehensible jargon of "pedaguese."

Questionable language use

Open communication

Goddu (58, p. 3), writing on present certification proposals in Maine raises a pertinent question about whether those who will be affected by changes in credentialing will have something to say about the criteria adopted. This comment is symptomatic of questions being raised in many states about whether the official decisions on teacher education policy are going to be made with or without open communication from all groups involved, such as parents, students, teachers, and the lay public.

New language of "performance"

Drummond (45), who has been a very active leader in the revision of both teacher education and certification in Washington state and Florida, is quoted as saying, "A new language for teacher education has to be created" (p. 62). If, as he says, the present language of credits and courses in teacher education, both for certification and for a description of competency, is outmoded: Then the new language should make possible the communication of teacher "performance achievements and changes in . . . performance capabilities."

Future projections

Much of the pressure for the current reorganization and curriculum development in teacher education can be traced back in part to the stimulus provided by publications such as *Teachers for the Real World* (Smith, Cohen, and Pearl, 135). In the concluding chapter the basic outlines of a plan are stated thus:

Protocol materials

The spheres at which planning at the national, state, and local levels should be undertaken are: (1) preparation of materials of instruction for teacher education, (2) training of university and public school personnel in using these materials, and (3) development of the institutional mechanisms through which the nation's teaching force can be trained (p. 165). One of the newer concepts, *protocol materials*, was projected out of this publication and is defined very broadly as all materials (especially in the photographic and electronic media) that will assist in giving a more direct and effective representation of the reality of teaching and teaching situations and problems (pp. 52–53).

Educational supermarket

Another way of communicating ideas and processes is by direct experiencing. A unique educational supermarket and workshop has been established in Chicago (Educational Facilities Center, 223 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60601). Educators at all levels are invited to visit. The greatest emphasis is on methods, innovations, and creativity, and one of the four learning environments at the Center is a preschool bilingual program for Spanish-speaking youngsters ages three to five (Weissman, 150).

Help for professors

Robert J. Menges was formerly director of the *Center for the Teaching Professions* at Northwestern University where a staff and facilities offer aid to any professor who desires assistance in improving his instruction (Pollock, 112; p. 15, 140). The service is not forced on anyone, but its existence is publicized, and all who wish help are welcomed. Menges (93) elaborates on the dichotomy between "schooling" and "educating." In his view, schooling in the traditional sense tends to direct the learning of the student toward specific goals in restrictive ways, while educating should permit the student the option of developing in his own way.

Menges also suggests that most public and government institutions tend to be manipulative, with much attention being given by teachers to "control" learners. Most teachers say their professional preparation was in colleges where instruction tended to be restrictive and controlling. Menges urges that teacher education should be provided in much more open institutions, where "A great deal of energy is directed toward effective communication and cooperation" (p. 233).

Persuasion

Rhode (117), in discussing the problem of encouraging teachers to give instruction in a second language, highlights another major dimension of communication: persuasion. Disseminating information is often not enough; arousing people's interests and stimulating them to action may also be required.

Teachers' reading patterns

In discussing what educational scholars and teachers have or do not have in common, Yee (159) analyzes another constraint to effective communication in teacher education. Research journals (for example, *American Educational Research Journal*) tend to be read by college personnel, while classroom teachers are more likely to read magazines written for practitioners (for example, a journal specific to their own field, *Learning*, and the local area teacher's association journal). For teacher education to be raised to a really effective level, especially in the inservice phase, some way must be found to bridge this communication gap.

Needs of the prospective teacher

Criticisms of teacher education

For many years students, teachers in the field, self-appointed critics of teacher education, and the general public have leveled caustic and continuous criticism upon professional education courses, especially those which preceded student teaching. The courses were charged with being repetitious, too theoretical, impractical, lacking in substance, a waste of time, and so on. The efforts to reorganize the content, to make them more scholarly and thus more respectable, have been legion.

Quality of student teaching?

But the criticisms have continued, and while student teaching is usually considered most worthwhile, even many of the most knowledgeable in this area recognize that much of the student teaching has been of relatively poor quality (Andrews 8; Silberman, 132).

That there has been so little effort at in-depth analysis of the cause of these criticisms is amazing. Seldom does one find research data that bear directly on this question, although the experience of many gives strong clues. Clearly, the problem is one of perception. In this section some documentation is presented to help in analyzing the needs of the college student in the early years of teacher preparation.

Causes of criticisms?

Two of the most maligned professional subject areas are introductory and methods courses. By the time he takes these courses the prospective teacher has had more than 10,000 clock hours of schooling, and thus, his lack of interest in and need for the content of a course in the "Introduction to Education"—about schools, schooling, and teaching—should be no surprise. What can any professor or textbook tell him? He's been there most of his life! And unless he has had rather unusual experiences directly related to teaching and directing learning, he looks at the teacher's role through the eyes of a pupil and does not see the relevance of methods course content.

Which questions?

Fuller (53) interviewed many students to probe their attitudes toward a particular introductory education course. Only the few older persons with considerable teaching and related experience spoke enthusiastically about the course. She concludes that perhaps the typical beginning education major is not prepared to benefit from such courses, and why should they want to learn what does not interest them? "Education courses may be answering quite well questions students are not asking" (p. 208).

Student perceptions of teaching

College supervisors of student teaching frequently conclude that the procedures used by beginning student teachers are largely modeled after the student's personal perception of an ideal teacher and a desirable method of teaching. Perception and attitude of prospective teachers toward teaching may be important areas for study.

Collaboration versus competition

One specific aspect of this area of attitude and behavior has been analyzed in some depth by Strom (141, 142). As the emphasis shifted from the self-contained elementary classroom during the 1960s to a variety of types of team teaching and collaborative efforts, attention was given to the skills of collaboration. Strom noted that the typical educational experience of prospective teachers, even up to and during student teaching, has been on a competitive model—with efforts to get better grades, scholarships, recommendations for positions, and to be on the dean's list.

Professorial example

Strom observes that prospective teachers have usually had little experience in collaboration and asks how college faculties can expect students to value collaboration when, in their own teaching in college classes, they set such poor examples. He concludes:

> Were colleague support valued as it ought to be, "Show and Tell" would be a tradition among faculty rather than con-

> fined to kindergarten; demonstration teaching, peer evaluation, reporting the success and failure of experimentation, and soliciting peer perception would be commonplace in departments of education. As it is, few faculties behave in these ways, quite content to ignore coworkers as a resource for their own improvement (Strom, 142, p. 16).

Professional clinics

The contrast between teaching and other professions in this regard has been very great. Many other professions have extensive demonstration clinics at their conventions, while educators seldom have demonstrated their professional skills before their peers.

Forced behaviors

Combs (31) illustrates the other side of this negative picture. For many years teacher educators have tried to get prospective teachers to behave in certain ways (acceptable to the professors). During student teaching, success in the course often depended on using prescribed specific procedures. Combs points out that forced behavior may for a time cause a student to "act out a part." But many college supervisors are often disappointed in observing many of their former students a few years later on the job and finding that procedures the students were using effectively while student teaching are no longer used at all.

Change from within

Combs, in explaining this pattern, develops the perceptual view of learning by dividing it into two stages: First, the receiving of some new information or experience, and second, the development by the individual of its personal meaning for him. In his speeches Combs informally suggests that real, continuing change in an individual's behavior cannot be *forced down upon him from the outside*. Rather, really effective change must come from *the inside out*. He emphasizes that *"no information of whatever variety will affect behavior until the individual has discovered its personal meaning for him"* (p. 21).

Theory and experience

In his analysis of the psychology of Abraham Maslow, Goble (57), observes that colleges appear to place more emphasis on how to teach than on actual teaching experience in the classroom. Theory, in and of itself, absent from experience may even be dangerous. Yet, experience without some undergirding of theory or rationale leaves the practical person handicapped. To these two are added the important third dimension: "Self-knowledge, self-understanding, the ability to feel subjectively" (p. 70).

If, as indicated, all of these aspects are needed for healthy growth, surely this has something to say to the designers of curriculum content for the early years of professional teacher education.

Design guidelines limited

Virtually no literature exists to help teacher educators design related field experiences for maximum communication of ideas and new perceptions to students, and especially for particular purposes and for particular stages in the preparation program.

Industrial design ideas

In an interview on industrial design Wood (157) suggests that the "beginning of design is need." A further question and answer exchange is:

> Q. What are the questions you ask to arrive at a design?
> A. The big considerations are: What's it supposed to do? What materials are available? Who is going to use it in what context? What economic factors are involved? (p. 10).

The contrast between these guidelines and the common objectives of many courses, including professional education courses—primarily to pass on substance content—is inescapable.

Readiness for professional learning

A few teacher educators speak of this problem as one of lack of readiness for professional content (Andrews, 5, p. 237). Using the analogy of readiness for reading, they also indicate that readiness is not something one waits for; it is something to be developed. At this point Combs' (31) insistence upon producing new perceptions through carefully designed experiences comes into focus.

During the 1930s many different pre- and poststudent teaching experiences were designed and explored, and the Flowers Report (51) documents many such experiences that were in use before 1948. But with the great increase in enrollment in the late 1940s and 1950s, most of these activities disappeared. A national survey by Johnson (72) included a question on innovations (73). Few of the listed new activities could be considered true innovations. Out of a return from 847 institutions, only 54 indicated that they "provide unusual or extensive prestudent teaching laboratory experiences," plus another nine that required September experiences.

Early major experience

The desirability of early field experience for all prospective teachers has now been generally accepted, and comprehensive proposals for improved teacher education programs usually contain such a recommendation (Andrews, 5; Commission on Public School Personnel Policies in Ohio, 34; Wisconsin Improvement Program, 153).

Urban experience

Lasky and Vogel (80) describe an early and continuing experience program at Brooklyn College. In addition to the usual objectives, they list benefits for both the students and the schools and the spin-off for the college faculty and their classes. Students are given the opportunity to develop "communications skills within a wide variety of cultural experiences" (p. 66) and are encouraged to exploit their own creative talents through service activities in the schools.

Survey inconclusive

A survey covering the prestudent teaching experiences offered by 100 North Central Association colleges reports that more than three quarters offer some such experiences (Shuff and Shuff, 130), but the level of student involvement in many cases could easily have been very low. The report includes some useful guidelines for developing professionally sound experiences at this level.

Diagnostic skills needed

Today's teacher often needs extensive diagnostic skills. Together with designing appropriate learning strategies, building adequate teacher competence in diagnostic skills, is an extremely difficult addition to the already overcrowded professional curriculum.

Personal remediation plus

Collins (29) describes an evolving program at Syracuse University where the emphasis on diagnosis and remediation works both ways. During the second college year each student is led through both campus and off-campus experiences to diagnose his own strengths and weaknesses across a wide spectrum. Thus the student should become better able to understand himself, to strengthen his own basic skills and special gifts, and to build skill in diagnosis and remediation of pupils.

Experience and decision making

In examining data on freshmen in an early experience, Workman (158) devised a plan for quantifying roughly the previous experience of a prospective teacher both as to its extent and the closeness of its relation to teaching. Students who rated very high in previous experiences and in extroversion and dominance tended to have made much firmer decisions about teaching as a career than students with low scores in these areas. Some students did decide against becoming teachers as a result of this early experience. Similarly, an even larger number of students who were undecided at the beginning shifted to being firm in their decision to teach. In all comparisons the students with the high preprofessional experience scores tended to be better able to make firm decisions.

Predicting teacher demand

Seeking better guidance data on employment prospects, Huddle (70) tested the feasibility of a procedure for using simple communication and the gathering of perceptions of knowledgeable people. There is no mathematically sound method of predicting the certificate areas that would be in greatest or least demand four years hence. Only a few states have sound data available even a few months ahead.

Feasibility tested

The technique involved gathering the judgment of 15 of the most experienced and most respected personnel directors of a varied group of school systems in a given state and from a similar group of 15 college placement directors. Each person was asked to rate the probable demand four years hence for each certificate area on a 10-point scale. The process was tested in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Utah. With the lowest numbers registering the highest probable demand, the total responses indicated a 2.8 for vocational areas down to an 8.2 for social studies and history. Foreign language was rated 7.0 and elementary foreign language 7.3. One of the findings that had pertinence for foreign language was that the ratings would have to be obtained from specifically knowledgeable people on each major language.

Professional content and growth in teacher education

Certification degree requirements

Minimum requirements for secondary teachers in most states have included completion of a bachelor's degree since the 1930s, and for elementary teachers since the 1950s. Most recommendations for changes in specific requirements for certification come from special-interest groups, with little attention, unfortunately, to the shifts that take place in the total curriculum and its major segments.

Curriculum components

Typically, the prospective teacher's course of study includes general education, subject-matter content, professional courses, and electives. For many years requirements in general education and subject areas have been increasing, with the result that for many students the electives have virtually disappeared, the professional segment has been held static or reduced, and numerous programs require more credit hours than the normal minimum for the bachelor's degree.

Subject areas strengthened

Fischer (48) points out that the post-Sputnik reappraisal of education has resulted in strengthening subject-matter specialization but has "weakened professional preparation" (p. 232). He concludes, after listing 14 concepts he considers essential guides to the education of a teacher, that professional preparation is seriously inadequate with the beginning teacher's credential only assuring that there is "an adult in each classroom" (p. 227). Often one hears the comment that provisional certification only gives a person the right "to begin to learn to teach."

Typically, professional education courses have attempted to communicate to students a quantity of professional content, but how effective is this *content* in providing professional competence on the job? In reporting on his long series of studies of the helping professions Combs (33, p. 197) found that both the good and the poor teachers knew what they ought to do; so knowledge, alone, was not the distinguishing characteristic.

But the sheer quantity of professional knowledge, which teachers should possess, is increasingly being recognized (Denemark, 40, p. 9; Haberman and Stinnett, 60, p. 88), and each of these sources also emphasizes that preservice and inservice teacher education must be conceived and planned as one continuous whole.

Added content proposed

Teacher educators are continually bombarded with requests to add various areas of content to the program. For example, the Ohio Civil Rights Commission (145) recommends that "such topics as urban problems, poverty, learning disabilities, minority problems, social issues, and Black history and culture should be a working part of the skills of every prospective teacher" (p. 1). Similarly, Marks (90) concludes, "Experience has revealed the necessity and feasibility of building the research aspect into the program of every teacher candidate" (pp. 455–56).

Bachelors degree inadequate

Granted that all such emphases may be very desirable, preserving the bachelor's degree as the point for issuing the first teaching license can only appear quite illogical to an outside observer.

Humanistic approach

Perhaps the two most prominent movements to deemphasize knowledge alone are the push toward an *humanistic* approach and the advocacy of greatly extended and more varied *profes-*

sional field experiences, often combined with instruction in content on location. A third, and much publicized approach is that of Performance Based Teacher Education (PBTE) or Competency Based Teacher Education (CBTE), as many would prefer to call it, which is an attempt to combine the learning of content with experience to reach predetermined behavioral goals.

Competency-Based Teacher Education

In his critique of PBTE from an humanistic point of view, Nash (100) concludes:

CBTE humanistic?

> We cannot hope to rehumanize our society by merely tuning up our educational technology. We need teachers who are able to ask radical questions about the educational culture and are equipped with the human qualities and skills to change it (p. 16).

Based on his research at the University of Florida, Combs (32) has initiated a teacher-preparation program that appears to consist of much time spent in experiencing and growing–using and testing much content–but not spending much time learning content for content's sake.

In a much earlier exploratory program, which was a part of the Mental Health in Teacher Education project, Wilhelms and Siemons (152) of San Francisco State College report:

Mental health emphasis

> The use of spaced, varied and exploratory experiences as the base of teacher education is extremely valuable . . . spreading a variety of experiences with children and youth in school and community over the whole period of professional preparation is superior to concentrating nearly all of it toward the end as student teaching . . . experience must be conceived as far more than practice. . . . Not all students need the same elements or portions of elements. . . . It is one of the great periods of personal growth and self-forming. . . . The goal is to help each young teacher become a fully functioning person in his own right (p. 282–83).

In an exploratory study Aspy (10) failed to find many significant relationships between the knowledge of learning theory and several measures of classroom performance, which would suggest the difficulty of designing such a study and selecting appropriate measures for comparison.

Theory to performance

Building specific skills

A more frequent design has been to provide a planned training procedure for specific teaching skills and then to judge the extent to which student teachers or teachers were able to put their new knowledge and skill to use in the classroom.

Rogers (118) reports that the research evidence does not indicate any best method to communicate knowledge of questioning to teachers. He used a variety of training procedures and then observed the student teachers and their use of various types of questions. The experimental group did succeed in asking more of some categories of questions at the .05 level of significance and a lower percentage of procedural questions than did the control group. Another activity reported by Rogers was the use of the game *Questioneze,* which suggests that time spent with such a game might be effective in improving knowledge and the use of higher orders of questions (Gillin, 55).

Improving questioning

Blosser (18) produced little significant increase in student teachers' use of open questions, but she did show an increase at the .01 level of significance in the ability to pause after stating a question before having the pupils answer.

A technique now being tried in many subjects and levels of learning may hold considerable promise for professional education. Called *value clarification strategies,* they are being used where didactic and prescriptive communication may be largely ineffective and where feelings and attitudes may be so strong that knowledge, *per se,* may have little chance to influence decisions. Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (133) prepared a handbook for teachers and students, while Osman (104) reports on the use of this technique with college students in a health education course.

Simple verbal concepts

The studies reported above and this writer's experience suggest two major topics for in-depth analysis. Simple verbal concepts—like Blosser's (18) key word, *pause*—may be far easier for prospective teachers to act upon in their early teaching than much highly structured knowledge with detailed and cumbersome verbal labels. Combs (33) emphasizes that in all of the helping professions, practitioners are constantly faced with making instantaneous decisions, a fact that tends to support the above concern.

Practicing complex skills

A second question must also be faced: Should prospective teachers be encouraged to practice key, and often complex, significant procedures under some type of simulated or artificial conditions until they become almost semiautomatic before hoping to use such procedures extensively in normal school situations?

Approaches to improved communication

In the past two decades teacher educators have developed and refined numerous approaches to improve learning in teacher education programs. While some efforts were primarily designed to build teaching skills, many others were attempts to find ways to organize and communicate information to prospective teachers in the hope that it would influence their teaching effectiveness. Communication, broadly conceived, is now often spoken of as a process of "packaging information" and disseminating it through some kind of "delivery system."

Some of these devices are refinements of processes known for many years; others have come largely from the rapidly expanding research of the 1960s. Unfortunately, research techniques may need much adaptation to become maximally useful as instructional procedures.

Evolving new emphases

Three large groupings of these techniques are identified here, together with some examples in each group:

1. *Instructional procedures and components:* Micro-teaching, interaction analysis, computer-assisted instruction, individualization of instruction, increased use of a wide range of media. All of these have been treated extensively in the first five volumes of this Series.
2. *Evolving processes and movements:* Competency-based teacher education (CBTE), simulation (broadly defined), protocol materials, minicourses, and self-renewal patterns. Each of these groups has a special communication function and is currently very much under discussion and development. The systems approach to teacher education is having influence and its application to language teaching was reported by DeLorenzo (39).
3. *A variety of new and expanded laboratory and practicum experiences:* Early major experiences, continuous individually tailored experiences, teacher education centers, professional courses taught on location in school and community, internships, and residences.

Group 2 is discussed here, and Group 3 is discussed later in this chapter.

Competency-based teacher education (CBTE)

CBTE

CBTE is sometimes spoken of as a movement whose time has come. In his excellent overview of CBTE, Elam (46) describes the influences supporting the shift from teacher preparation based upon courses and credits toward one based upon detailed objectives or competencies—previously stated levels of mastery, with performance as the primary evidence of progress at the student's own rate.

A broad movement

CBTE is not a single development, but rather a developing movement. Applications are evolving very differently in different states and institutions, and the end-product of competency-based certification and professional status based on evaluated competence is probably some years away.

Information sources

Unfortunately, the literature is now very voluminous, and no comprehensive evaluation is possible here. Several special sources include the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) series of bulletins (2) of which the Elam (46) monograph is the first, the Multi-State Consortium on Performance-Based Teacher Education monthly bulletin, *PBTE* (106) plus major monographs from time to time, and a special issue of the *Journal of Teacher Education* (143). Many colleges and universities are reporting their progress in the direction of CBTE. Dickson and Saxe (43) describe the use of CBTE in their model elementary education program at the University of Toledo. This was one of the nine model programs developed under a contract with the Office of Education and summarized by Burdin and Lanzilloti (21). Much developmental work has been done at the University of Houston, as reported by Houston and Howsam (68) and a more recent analysis edited by Houston (65) includes criticisms, alternatives, examples, and expectations for CBTE.

Critiques of CBTE

Several very helpful critiques of the CBTE movement have now appeared. Broudy (20) examines it from a philosophical point of view, while both Combs (31) and Nash (100) begin from an humanistic position. Two other analyses are from the viewpoint of the two large national teachers' organizations. Feldman (47) examines the teacher-unionist position, and McKenna (92) reports for the NEA.

Teacher competencies

Many lists of teacher competencies have been developed including those in elementary education model programs (Burdin and Lanzilloti, 21); in several states—for example, Florida (Dodl, 44) and Pennsylvania (110); and one in vocational education (Cotrell, Chase, and Molnar, 35). Often a list initially includes hundreds or thousands of items which are then condensed to between 100 and 500 items. In reading such lists one can easily become disturbed at the fractionation of the role of the teacher and wonder just when some internal integration of these many separate behaviors can be expected to occur.

Generalizations on CBTE

Several generalizations now seem warranted. The greatest success to date appears to be in the improvement of instruction in those colleges that have modified existing programs using the guidelines, such as listed by Elam (46).

Two of the characteristics that appear to have made the most favorable impact are the specificity of objectives and the flexibility both in learning styles and in time for completion of mastery. Most observers conclude that these programs are more expensive, but the advocates claim that after initial development and trial, costs will approach traditional levels (Cruickshank, 36).

State adoption of CBTE

More than half of the states have taken some kind of official action committing them to move toward CBTE for teacher preparation or for certification or both. In view of these official actions and the promotion by many of PBTE as the *panacea for teacher education*, the statement of the AACTE's position in their June 1973 *Bulletin* (107) is most significant. Included are these excerpts:

AACTE position

> The selection of competencies and the determination of how the competencies will be measured are two significant issues. . . . The measurement problem is more difficult since the *tools needed to provide objective information for truly accurate measurement do not exist* [italics added]. . . . its (PBTE) potential should not be compromised or jeopardized by undue pressure or haste . . . states are advised to avoid legislation which prescribes or proscribes PBTE. The potential for the improvement of the entire educational system through support for PBTE is significant. The premature pressure of a policy which ignores the problems . . . may destroy that potential (p. 4).

Danger in early adoption

These statements suggest that if a state sets up a near target date (as several have) for PBTE programs and/or certification and then is unable to come up with a sound procedure for implementing the evaluation, both teacher education and education will suffer.

A comprehensive projection

The immensity of the task of developing a comprehensive program of CBTE preparation and certification of teachers can be seen by perusal of the *Report of the Committee on National Program Priorities in Teacher Education* (Rosner, 119). The report presents a rationale, a set of recommendations, descriptions of projections of each of the major phases of a program together with cost estimates. The Committee strongly recommends a full-scale effort to investigate the relationships between teacher competencies and the attainment of school objectives (p. 24).

Performance evaluation lacking

There still remains the development of adequate evaluation procedures for the performance of the person applying for a certificate and the almost untouched problem of evaluating the results of acceptable performance in terms of pupil growth, or as it is often expressed, *product evaluation*. Krathwohl comments in Merwin (94) that PBTE will fail if the movement continues without change because not enough attention is being paid to the "assessment of teaching competencies."

Evaluation by peers

Projected patterns for the major stages of assessment of competence vary considerably, but two elements that will involve all teachers appear in nearly all projections. These are evaluation by one's peers (other classroom teachers) and the expectation that local patterns of evaluation will be based upon local determination of desired competencies. The probable effective date for this becoming the standard procedure seems a long way off, but in several states the present designated date is in the mid-1970s.

Some of the most directly useful publications to come out of this movement for all instructors, especially those in the schools, is the pair of annotated lists *Resources for Performance-Based Education* (Houston, 66, 67).

A further critique

In summarizing PBTE and examining the progress made and the issues raised, Lindsey (82) recognizes it as a popular slogan of the day. She concludes by listing five points at which evaluation is necessary as a means of stilling the debate: the plan itself, its operation, the consequences resulting from teacher behavior, those arising from conditions created by these behaviors, and those measured in pupil progress.

Protocol materials

The term mentioned earlier, *protocol materials*, is now used to identify a wide range of materials for use in CBTE learning sequences, all designed to communicate more effectively to both prospective and inservice teachers. Several universities have established centers for the development of protocol materials, and special publications are appearing (Gliessman and Hudgins, 56; Okey and Ciesla, 102; Smith and Orlosky, 136) and in foreign languages by Jorstad (74). In the past decade many such materials were made locally, but under such loose legal and technical controls that wide circulation was questionable. Some of these problems are being overcome, and schools and colleges can acquire good-quality useful protocol materials.

Minicourses

The term *minicourse* means some short, minor interest activity in many secondary schools; but in teacher education it refers to a specific learning process by means of packaged media procedures, often used at some great distance from the responsible center or institution. Developed originally at the Far West Educational Laboratory and now available commercially, the process has been adapted by several universities. A plan for the preparation and inservice upgrading of early childhood teachers was developed by Meier and is reported by Rich (116). Called System for Open Learning (SOL), handbooks and tapes are sent to remote locations, usually in minority ethnic areas, where the teachers develop their own procedures and send tapes back to Denver for review and criticism.

Self-renewal techniques

For some years all the mechanical ingredients—hardware—have been readily available, and now the processes have been refined so that a pattern for *self-renewal* with rather universal applicability is entirely feasible (using the above minicourse somewhat as a model). Any teacher at any stage in his career could identify a teaching-learning problem, set up a program to analyze the problem, explore alternative approaches through microteaching until a level of satisfaction was reached, practice the process until he felt comfortable with it and then—and only then—put the process into use in a regular instructional situation. With the continuing recognition of the rapidity of change and the great need for self-improvement, colleges should refine such self-renewal package procedures. All young teachers could be given adequate practice in their use so that they could readily adapt the process to their own style and needs (Andrews and Kintgen, 9, pp. 26–29).

Communication aspects of practicum experiences

"Practical" versus theory

Prospective teachers regularly regard student teaching and other real life experiences as valuable—"practical" as contrasted with content learning as "theoretical." But Denemark (40) points out that experience does not necessarily produce learning and without theory and rationale the design may even produce negative learning. Experience alone may simply assist young teachers to learn to cope with reality rather than grow professionally.

Theory supporting experience

Unfortunately, carefully developed comprehensive theory concerning direct experiences is almost as limited as it was a decade ago (Andrews, 6). One of the most penetrating analyses was written by John Dewey (42) just after the turn of the century. He distinguished between goals of student teaching for producing skills and those for increasing understanding. In his view, perfecting skills alone would be very limiting since they might not be applicable in the next situation in which the teacher found himself. But the objective of understanding should grow out of the experience, out of developing theory and meaning through analyzing one's efforts to put theory and practice together.

"Action learning"

June Grant Shane and Harold G. Shane (127) interviewed Alvin Toffler following the publication of his recent book *Learning for Tomorrow.* Toffler espoused "action learning" in some useful work off campus, out in society. Learners should be in groups of all ages making "generation bridges" and, in contrast to merely learning content, have a part in making change occur. Students should be aided in developing a "well-formulated, realistic future-focused role" as a basis for making decisions and achieving competence. Without this kind of education, Toffler suggests our future teachers and their students are being readied for *future shock.* Toffler, who believes that values are developed and disseminated through interaction between human beings, emphasizes the importance of helping youth to know their own values.

Importance of values

Until the late 1950s most studies in the area of direct experience were descriptive and normative; indeed, the difficulties in designing significant in-depth research are only now beginning to be overcome with newer research techniques from the behavioral sciences. There are today a considerable number of programs that include outstanding experiences with sufficient data to show that such activities can communicate important perceptions to prospective teachers. Slaymaker and Hacket (134) report on an "Urban Experience/Urban Semester" in which Indiana University students combine student teaching and community experiences. The students are completely immersed in inner-city living through a process called the "plunge" and proceed through a variety of environmental, family, and occupational activities in addition to the usual student teaching.

New designs appearing

Baker (14) describes a multicultural workshop at the University of Michigan designed to prepare students for the following year's internship. Although the workshop was short (two weeks), significant changes did occur in attitudes toward some minorities. Baker concludes that institutions should be responsible for helping students to become prepared for their experiences and should develop and research procedures to this end.

Preparation for experiences

Organizational patterns

Since 1950 almost all student teaching has been done in public schools, in contrast to the earlier predominate use of laboratory schools (Johnson, 72, pp. 26–27). Often the student teacher is still assigned to one classroom teacher and visited infrequently by a roving college supervisor.

Traditional student teaching

Teachers have regularly rated student teaching highest of their professional preparation courses, with many very enthusiastic about it. However, a minority of teachers were bitterly disappointed and insist their student teaching could hardly have been worse if someone had set out to make it that way.

In the past 15 years more than a dozen dissertation studies and funded research projects have, collectively, analyzed in depth the relationships in the organizational pattern for student teaching. The best known were by Yee (160), who pointed out that the cooperating teacher has the greatest influence over the student teacher's attitudes and that their attitudes tend to move in the direction of those of the cooperating teacher.

Research accumulates

Haberman and Stinnett (60, pp. 115–16) report on several studies that indicate that student teachers tend to move from

Shifts during student teaching

humanistic to more custodial behavior to become more directive in their teaching, and they imitate their cooperating teachers.

Triad interrelations

Shockney (128) looked at the interrelations among the triad (student teacher, cooperating teacher, college supervisor) and their communications effectiveness as seen by each. Most student teachers' perceptions of their triad relationship tended to become more positive, but at the end a few always viewed their situation much more negatively. Cooperating teachers' perceptions tended to remain constant, while students and college supervisors tended to change. Shockney also found that the cooperating teacher was the most influential member of the triad.

Defects in triad structure

From a sociological standpoint these studies make clear that the student-teaching triad is not a good structural design. Three pairs exist in each triad, and whenever any pair has problems communicating or working together, the whole triad is in trouble. As a closed system, often no other person can come into the triad and help the three work together more effectively without threatening all three. Truly compatible triads may perform beautifully, but no research or theory suggests how incompatible triads can be avoided or how most triads can be made to operate at a much higher level of communicative and educational effectiveness.

Triads to dyads

More than a decade ago numerous teacher educators began to search for better patterns, and as many as 50 different types have been designed and set up. Most include one or both of two shifts: A move from triads to dyads—cooperating teacher and student teacher—and a shift in the college supervisor's role from a "roving ambassador" to that of a coordinator stationed within a small number of schools. If the cooperating teacher is given specialized training for this role—which the research shows is effective (Perrodin, 111)—and is an interested, experienced, competent, willing participant in teacher education, the dyad could clearly become a superior structure to the triad.

Cooperating teacher influence

In more recent study, Seperson and Joyce (126) found during a semester assignment that the teaching styles of the cooperating teachers began to influence those of the student teachers very shortly after the latter arrived and that this influence tended to be maintained, though not consistently. Since many teachers are known to use a deductive-recitative style, student teachers may find this pattern easier to adopt at first than inductive or more inquiry-oriented styles.

Practice precedes theory

In his Preface to the *Second Handbook on Research on Teaching*, Travers (149, p. v, vi) points out that most technologies have developed independently of the knowledge from their supporting disciplines, or more simply that applications develop before the supporting theory. He indicates that this now appears to be changing in education so that more studies are developing and organizing the concepts from both the supporting behavioral sciences as well as from the field of teaching itself. These observations are very pertinent to the restructuring of the organization of the "student teaching team."

Teacher education centers

Many of the newer patterns have resulted in structures called "student teaching centers" or "teacher education centers" located in public-school settings. Visits to many such centers lead this writer to conclude that only a very few of the designs are based on any full understanding of the implications of the many research studies.

Secondary centers

Telego (146) surveyed all of the secondary student teaching centers he could identify throughout the whole country. His findings suggest that two ideas must have guided most developers: Centers were the "in" pattern at this time, and by concentrating student teachers and making some operational changes, centers would increase the effectiveness of the program, thus reducing some of the more mechanical problems.

Most of the articles on student-teaching centers are chiefly historical and descriptive (Behling, 16; Maddox 86; Maddox et al., 87). Collins (30) considers functions, program, financing, governance together with several case studies.

Research limited

Some centers are beginning to generate some research data (Priselac, 113), but comprehensive, in-depth research is greatly needed. Perhaps the establishment of a National Commission for Performance-Based Education at the Educational Testing Center may assist in this effort (Mareoff, 89).

Theory inadequate

The wide range of activities provided by the six West Virginia multi-institutional centers are described in a group of articles (144). A comprehensive group of articles on Centers (148) provides an analysis from several points of view. Unfortunately, no source, so far as this writer knows, includes any detailed summary of the research and theory that undergirds the redesign of student teaching triads to dyads—concepts that would be most helpful to classroom teacher educators.

A similar communication gap exists relative to coordinating the efforts of schools and colleges. During the 1960s there were surveys, analyses of new structures, projections of what leaders thought ought to be done, reports of a considerable variety of new positions, and much activity within states and localities in trying to find ways to work together for the improvement of the laboratory aspects of teacher education. The education literature of the 1970s has a few descriptions of programs, but only occasional comments are seen in other more comprehensive publications.

Teacher negotiations

As the pattern of teacher negotiations has become more nearly universal, the concern of teacher groups over their place in teacher education has increased sharply. Not only have negotiated agreements begun to carry clauses regarding teacher education matters, but teachers' organizations have prepared position papers in this area (115).

Teacher organizations

School-college cooperation

Haberman and Stinnett (60, pp. 251–57) discuss the gap that seems to be growing between organized groups of teachers and responsible officials in teacher education. At the same time projections for improved programs regularly emphasize that excellence in teacher education will require the cooperative effort of all segments of the profession, including teachers' organizations (Andrews, 5; 115; 153). Ruchkin (121) made an exploratory analysis of the language used in meetings of school-college collaborators. She described the initial situation as often a "colonial operation" that may evolve over the years into one big happy family, a "marital relationship." School personnel have been critical of the college approach to arranging field experiences as being overbearing and taking teachers for granted while this research suggests that it is possible to move into a better partnership status.

Supervisory conferences

Conferences as teaching

In the past decade much research has been done on cooperating teacher-student teacher and college supervisor-student teacher conferences and in designing models for more effective communication and learning through conferences. Lindsey (83) summarizes much of this work by emphasizing that conferences must be regarded as a special type of teaching. Now that teaching is analyzed through the use of numerous classification systems, supervisory teaching should be so analyzed as well;

several systems have been developed and used, for example, Heidelbach (62) and Michalak (95).

Supervisors prescriptive

In general, Lindsey points out, supervisors do most of the talking and their talk is mostly prescriptive, a closed rather than open language. They say, "Do it this way." "It would be better if you. . . ." "I do it this way." The language is very judgmental, rather than descriptive, and supervisors not only tend to have the "answers," but are quick to give them.

Supervisors poor models

These same supervisors tell their students to listen more to pupils, to be more open, to accept alternate ways; and then in their supervisory behavior they often tend to depart from their prescriptions and do differently.

Lindsey et al. (84) develop the theme that supervision is primarily teaching as apart from directing, managing, assessing. Several research projects were designed to analyze ways of improving the effectiveness of supervisory conferences. Some of these findings have been presented in a brief bulletin as suggested ways by which cooperating teachers can improve their student teacher conferences (Bebb, Low, and Waterman, 15).

Conferences over video recordings

Fuchs (52) studied the effect of three different types of conferences between student teachers and college supervisors working from vidotape recordings of lessons taught. Beginning student teachers' initial concerns about self shift during the experience to more concerns about pupils. Some indication was found that overreliance on video recordings could narrow the range of questions brought up for discussion. The student teachers tended to generate topics under "concerns with self," while college supervisors generated more under "concerns of pupils."

Suggestions for teachers

Translating the findings of research and development into everyday use often proves difficult, but teachers who wish to examine their own behavior can do so easily by using an audiotape recorder during their conferences (Andrews, 7). Summarizing this area simply, the teacher educator in the schools should strive to:

1 Accept the college student as a person and equal, and as a professional colleague
2 Accept and live comfortably with the usual mistakes of the beginner
3 Refrain from almost all prescriptive directions
4 Lead a relaxed, professional discussion on learning, teaching, and a wide range of methodologies (p. 1).

Telephone conferences over tapes

With the availability of the modern electronic media, some special types of conferences are now possible, and several types have been studied. Smith (137) substituted long-distance telephone conferences over audiotape or videotape reports for on-site contact in a teaching field in which the student teachers were very widely dispersed. Three patterns were compared: On-site, audio-phone, and video-phone, and while the statistical results showed no significant difference, the students ranked their preference in order as: on-site, video-phone, and audio-phone. A combination of methods should also be explored. The study demonstrated both the technical and budgetary feasibility.

With first-year teachers

In a similar study, Murphy (99) found that allowing first-year teachers to select the audiotapes of their choice and mail them to the state department supervisor provided a sound basis for telephone conferences. Following a plan carefully established at the beginning of the year, the scheduled half-hour conferences over the state telephone WATS line proved less threatening than observation and conferences on-site, provided an opportunity to discuss a wider range of topics of interest to the beginning teacher, and actually cost only one-fourth as much as on-site visits.

Competence for teacher educators in the field

Competence in the teacher education laboratory

The success of the laboratory phases of teacher education—indeed the success of teacher education—depends in very large measure upon the competence of these hundreds of thousands of teachers to provide high-quality learning and growth for prospective teachers. Therefore, the task of *communicating* the best concepts and procedures to this vast multitude to the level of effective use is probably the greatest challenge in teacher education.

Teacher education team

Who are these people? They include classroom teachers, department heads, principals, supervisors, central office personnel—especially those designated as responsible for coordinating teacher education activities, superintendents, state department staff, plus college personnel in a variety of roles. Virtually every projection of a program to improve teacher education includes an emphasis on the importance of school and community experience, the necessity for teamwork by all types of personnel in this laboratory, and the need for special competence (34; Rosner, 119; Smith, Cohen, and Pearl, 135; and 153).

Special "entry" schools

Many recent projections recommend special types of institutions in which particular experiences are to be provided as one means of setting apart a highly specialized and trained staff for this important task. Some names used are: "teacher-training complexes," "portal schools," "teacher education centers," "initiation schools," "personnel development centers" (Denemark and Yff, 41).

Quality personnel—whose responsibility?

At the very least, the personnel responsible for this comprehensive task should have an opportunity to think through their role with others and to have access to continuous upgrading in the skills of working with prospective teachers. Who should be responsible for this specialized preparation? Bennie (17, p. 36) suggests that it should be a cooperative responsibility of schools and colleges. In the past 25 years many writers have recommended that the states should provide this inservice upgrading and meet extra costs of the teacher education laboratories, but progress in this direction has been very slow indeed.

Resources for teacher educators

Two of the most widely used books, written especially for cooperating teachers, are by Bennie (17), and Henry and Beasley (63). While both include many case studies, they tend to be prescriptive and do not include much in the area of theory and concepts from the related behavioral sciences. The Association of Teacher Educators continues to publish brief bulletins to aid teacher educators in their roles (Andrew, 3; Hilliard and Durrance, 64).

Many studies and doctoral dissertations have examined the selection, role, competencies and preparation of cooperating teachers, but the impact of these studies appears to have been very slight and frequently only local. Miller (96) developed several learning packages for use by cooperating teachers and tested their feasibility. She found very good acceptance of the process by the teachers and a recognition of its effectiveness by student teachers.

Learning packages

Staff members at the Mid-Continent Regional Educational Laboratory pioneered a Cooperative Urban Teacher Education (CUTE) program in Kansas City to give prospective teachers a concentrated one-semester program to prepare them to teach in inner-city schools (Clothier and Lawson, 26; Clothier and Swick, 27).

Specialized training

In August 1970 the CUTE staff convened a very innovative workshop for teams of teachers and student teachers who would work together in an inner-city school. Microteaching, evaluations of the resulting video tapes, and training of the teacher-student teacher teams in interpersonal relations were major portions of the experience. The materials and procedures developed have been used to replicate the workshop with other groups and are packaged for use as bulletins for supervising teachers (Clothier and Kingsley, 25) and student teachers (Clothier and Kingsley, 24).

The resulting materials and procedures have now been used in demonstration centers throughout the country. Chicago State University (22) reports enthusiastically on its use of these materials and techniques in preparing 60 teams of "distinguished" cooperating teachers and student teachers. Following the one-week workshop, with optional college credit, the dyads worked together during a 16-week semester and had three half-day seminars. The initial evaluation showed significant changes in interpersonal relations and a very high degree of satisfaction by the participants.

"Labels" for teacher educators

The designated title for teachers who direct the work of student teachers has gone through a variety of forms—model, directing, laboratory, critic, supervising, sponsor, cooperating, associate teacher—until now the accepted term by the Association of Teacher Educators (ATE) is *sponsoring teacher* (12, p. 20). A very useful review of the role of the cooperating teacher appears in Bennie (17, pp. 250–52).

Operant conditioning

A very controversial process, somewhat in current vogue, is known as behavior modification, or more technically, operant conditioning. Based on Skinnerian concepts, these processes are designed to help persons reinforce positive learning and decrease negative behavior. Since teachers continually make instantaneous decisions (Combs, 33), learning to avoid reinforcing negative behavior is often extremely difficult.

Changing teacher behavior

Hamblin et al. (61) report most striking learning achievements with teachers working in a one-to-one situation while in wired communication with an instructor-observer through a one-way glass. Hubbard (69) described her use of the same technique in training teachers to direct the behavior of extreme atypical children in regular classrooms. Gray et al. (59) report on what happens to pupils and teachers when children are taught behavior-modification techniques.

Because most student teachers so desperately need strong positive support rather than so much negative criticism, some adaptation of these techniques might be applicable in the preparation of workers in teacher education.

College supervisors

No major publication on the role of the *college supervisor* has appeared since a decade ago (Pfeiffer, 109), but many writers and speakers observe that the role is in the process of changing. Lindsey et al. (84, pp. 204–05) point out that college supervisors should probably spend less time observing and in conference with student teachers and more time conferring with cooperating teachers.

Center coordinator

In conceptualizing the role of center coordinators, Collins (28) describes how they have many more options open to them than college supervisors usually have. They can furnish immediate on-call assistance to both student teachers and cooperating teachers and can readily work with groups of either teachers or students or both together. Sociologically, negative effects of the triad largely disappear when groups of either teachers or student teachers can work out problems together under a skillful discussion leader.

Changes in roles

Kerber and Protheroe (75) describe the changes in roles in a cooperative structure, with considerable attention to that of the college supervisor. Patty (105) analyzes the literature and projects a new major role for the cooperating teacher in a dyad and a rather minor role for the college supervisor. Unfortunately, a comprehensive analysis has not yet appeared for either the role of a center coordinator or of the college supervisor as a liaison coordinator and resource consultant. With an able center-based coordinator providing day-to-day support for teachers and student teachers, the role of the secondary-level college supervisor can become that of a *resource consultant*. Unfortunately, to change a person's title is easier than changing his behavior.

Roles in FL education

This is the dilemma of the college supervisor of foreign languages. The center coordinator or general college supervisor may be very knowledgeable and skillful in interpersonal relations and all aspects of student teaching and teacher education, but he cannot be expected to know each language taught and its special methodologies. Collins (28) suggests that as the teachers become better qualified in the role of language teacher and cooperating teacher, they and the student teacher should become more sensitive to those times when the campus foreign language education expert should be called on as a resource consultant.

The "outside ear"

One further advisor should always be designated for every student teacher–usually some college staff member, a person to serve as an "outside ear" (Andrews, 4). Every prospective teacher should feel confident that there is some person to whom he can go for a conference, a person outside the line of authority in which the student finds himself. This function is somewhat like that of an ombudsman; he may not be able to assist the student directly but should help him evolve a wise course of action for resolving troublesome dilemmas.

Professional instruction in schools and communities

Increased school-college cooperation

The actual amount of the use of schools and communities in teacher education has been increasing considerably. Students in most colleges have some observation or more in-depth experiences in schools as a part of given methods courses (Gantt and Davey, 54). A total concept of school-college cooperation to make schools *centers of inquiry* proposed by Schaeffer (124) is now becoming a reality in a few places. Groups of college staff are joining hands with school faculty groups in long-term efforts to work together on a wide range of topics, including improvement of learning for both pupils and prospective teachers.

Instruction in field centers

The two movements reported above have apparently added to the forces working for an integration of professional instruction with field experiences in the schools. The process is new enough that most information is simply descriptive. A team effort at Indiana University resulted in an analysis of nine such programs of varying design (Moody, 97). But moving a course from a campus into a public school may not in and of itself improve learning at all, since much depends on the rationale, the design, and the competence of the staff. Preliminary indications are that the potential for this decentralization of instruction is considerable.

Team supervision

Another development, which usually has its focus of activity chiefly in the schools, consists of teams of prospective teachers –student teachers, interns, and others. Team supervision (Readling and Blom, 114) was developed in various places during the 1960s, and some team teaching of college classes as well. However, teams of prospective teachers, which usually involve several professionals in the total team, are now becoming the subject of research. The team-internship program at Wayne State University was well received by supervisors, interns, and school personnel alike; and the evaluation indicates that much more theory and professional content was involved than is usual in internship programs (Davidson, 38). At the University of Toledo Ishler and Saxe (71) studied the role of team leaders in the Teacher Corps program and developed a set of training guides for such leaders. Sterns (139) has made a preliminary examination of various ways that teacher education students have been integrated into different team-teaching efforts.

Research efforts

Inservice teacher education

New demands for inservice

A new level of emphasis is discernible in the voices that are being heard in the field of inservice teacher education. Although some of the ideas are not new but are now being presented with more urgency, other concepts and processes are relatively new. Krathwohl (77) summarizes the situation well in reporting on the 1973 program of the Society of Professors of Education:

> It is important . . . that (teachers) be given the tools, and the skills to use those tools, that will permit them to monitor their own achievements and to thus continue to grow after they have their preservice training. Most important, teacher training should instill a desire for further growth. . . . We need to find those affective patterns that will be self-reinforcing.

Needs and practices

Thelen (147) examined his own experiences and found that the most exciting and most worthwhile had been characterized by "intensity of personal involvement, immediate consequences for classroom practice, stimulation and ego support by meaningful associates . . . and initiation by teacher rather than by outsider" (p. 73). Fischler (49, pp. 180–81) makes a strong case for the type of self-renewal described earlier in this chapter in which peer evaluation—two member teams—can effectively support a process that makes use of several of the newer devices and procedures (microteaching, interaction analysis, videotaping, and so on). Fischer (48, pp. 238-41) emphasizes the need for time for inservice activities within the school day and suggests that schools should overstaff their faculties by 10 percent for this purpose.

Product evaluation

In his concluding section Rubin (120) also stresses the need for continuity between preservice and inservice teacher education. In the past it has not always been fashionable to judge teachers' effectiveness by the learning of their pupils—product evaluation—but Rubin puts it this way: "Teachers should be continuously encouraged to assess the variance between their intent and their result" (pp. 267-68).

Teacher problem studies

Following an extensive investigation, Cruickshank, Kennedy, and Myers (37) have analyzed the problems that secondary teachers say bother them most. They reasoned that if they could discover the problems the teacher sees in his world, they would be in a much better position to help the teacher do something about them. An important part of the study was to set forth a procedure by which teachers could identify the problems in their own schools as a part of a total inservice program.

Teacher-centered programs

O'Keefe (101) writes about "Some Teacher-Centered In-Service Programs" in which he sets forth the NEA position and describes a number of interesting developments in various cities. Knispel (76) prepared a checklist of excellent practices entitled "Rate Your In-Service Education," designed to encourage local teacher associations to work for better programs.

Program examples

The following are three examples of current new and modified programs. An outgrowth of CBTE is the use of Self-Instructional Modules (SIMs) in inservice education. Merwin (94) describes a project in Maryland in which two SIMs were developed, used, and evaluated. The modules involved improvement in questioning and improvement of the cognitive quality of class discussions. The results in teacher use showed that CBTE materials can be adapted for use by busy teachers, who can improve their skills by this self-paced approach.

The teaching clinic is a structured plan of group attack on teaching problems (Olsen, Barbour, and Michalak, 103). Each member of the group plans a lesson and is assisted in going through a series of steps looking toward improvement. Such a plan may support some teachers in ways that might not be possible for those working alone.

Inservice program support

The Wisconsin Improvement Program (155) consists of a consortium of 17 teacher preparing institutions that have been working very closely with a large number of school systems since 1960. Presently the organization operates an internship program for nearly a thousand undergraduate students a year. As one aspect of the funding pattern, $150 per intern is allocated to local school inservice activities, and another $150 per intern goes into state inservice allocations. The vitality and variety of the projects can be quickly seen in reading lists of approved inservice projects (154).

Renewal and recertification

Renewal and *recertification* are now common terms in use in a rapidly increasing number of professions fostered especially by the need to keep abreast of new developments and to demonstrate competency. A similar movement, combined with CBTE, is evident in teaching. One state, Arizona, has a State Board of Education policy (Shofstall, 129) requiring performance-based recertification by July 1, 1974, unles the Board decides to postpone until the procedures are more satisfactory. Teachers are to be members of the local groups setting up the goals for performance and growth. Eight different appraisal techniques are under consideration, including self-evaluation and peer-evaluation. A systematic plan of procedures is projected for feedback to training institutions and to the individual teachers.

Ferment and activity of great variety is the order of the day in inservice teacher education. The pressures of the times may make one of Wolfe and Smith's (156) concluding statements come to pass. "Future think with precision is not difficult if one assumes the position that tomorrow's education is what we could do today if we dared" (pp. 120–21).

Evaluation and feedback

Evaluation as feedback

Wilhelms (151, pp. 2–17) stresses the point that by its very nature *evaluation is feedback.* Regardless of the kind or adequacy of the feedback, when it has been combined with one's values, needs, and purposes, "it controls the next step." The pupil sizes up his teacher; the graduate student checks the "grapevine" on his professor; the parent checks the neighbor's opinions on Johnny's teacher. This is the essence of communication: obtaining information (feedback) upon which decisions can be made, and actions can be taken.

In evaluating "dreams" against "reality" in terms of the adequacy of feedback, Wilhelms suggests that in the area of teacher education the situation has been very dismal indeed. The future begins to look much brighter, but the road ahead is long and difficult!

Measurement dilemma

What then shall be measured? Combs (31) makes the point that measuring only what we know how to measure—what is easy—is no substitute for finding ways to measure what we need to measure. Certainly much of what is needed exists now as subjective judgment, the opinions of knowledgeable people. The advocates of CBTE predict that criteria can be established and procedures can be developed that will enable teacher educators to measure teacher competency and the effectiveness of programs of teacher education.

Kinds of evidence

Using the above paragraph as a rationale, a plan can be projected for obtaining carefully refined "evidence" on each of four major areas of the competence and effectiveness of a given teacher (Andrews, 9, p. 48):

Areas from which Evidence of Competency Can be Obtained

Related Knowledge & Subject Matter to be Taught	Process of Teaching, Teaching Behaviors	Climate for Learning	Product of Teaching-Learning

In many fields, such as in languages, procedures are available by which to get a rough assessment of a teacher's knowledge of his teaching field. Much progress has been made in evaluating performance objectives, especially through PBTE and the whole spectrum of behavioral objectives and performance assessment.

Climate for learning

The area, *climate for learning*, may involve the most subjective judgments, but also may be one of the most crucial for today's teachers. Classroom climate is produced by the teacher as a person, using all his knowledge from many areas including professional knowledge, his varied behavioral skills, and his personality. Both experience and research attest to the great influence this climate has on learners.

Arlene Silberman traveled with her husband while he was visiting schools preparatory to writing *Crisis in the Classroom* (131). After four years she concluded that there were three characteristics of a good elementary school. Her statements paraphrased slightly can be applied to any level of learning.

1 A pleasant atmosphere where every student is valued and successful
2 A faculty concerned with developing young people who delight in learning
3 Programs that respond to each student's individual needs—his own perceived needs

Evidence on climate

A team of experienced professionals can devise criteria; develop and evaluate an assessment procedure; and by using a combination of on-site visits, video- and audiotape recordings, can assemble much reliable and useful evidence on the climate for teaching produced by a given teacher (Andrews 9, pp. 48–53).

Wide ranging evidence

The *evidence* implied here is often limited, rather than final definitive evidence that would enable one to say that a teacher is excellent or better or worse than another. The evidence from the several areas would, when put together into a profile, give a great deal of information about the actual comprehensive professional competence of a given teacher. For an interim period of time this may indeed be a practicable alternative to definitive evaluation of teacher competence and effectiveness.

Another element that might be added to this comprehensive approach might well be the teacher's demonstrated ability to use a self-renewal approach for the solution of his own perceived teaching-learning problems.

Product evaluation

In the area of *product evaluation* the most heat and the least research has been generated over the years. Peck and Tucker (108) indicate that research is beginning to appear on pupil-gain measures as a criterion of the effectiveness of teacher education. Further, they suggest that these measures should include "affective and behavioral gains as well as . . . subject mastery (p. 943). A recent issue of *PBTE* (11) reports on new research developments in assessment.

Evaluation by objectives

An example of such research, by Smithman and Lucio (138) using 20 mathematics classes, showed that in classes in which the teachers were evaluated by objectives the pupils did gain more. The teachers indicated that they preferred to be evaluated by objectives rather than by the usual plan. Several other studies are reported by Lucio (85).

Teacher appraisal

Teacher appraisal has been a much debated topic for many years, and currently accountability is a major concern. Lewis (81) develops appraisal from the administrative point of view to implement *school management by objectives.* Clearly, much research, long confrontation, and continued communication will be necessary to arrive at some concensus and a methodology that is likely to satisfy the several points of view involved in evaluation of teachers by pupil gain measures—product evaluation.

Evaluating teacher education

The least developed area of evaluation is the application of these processes to determine the *effectiveness of teacher education programs.* Haberman and Stinnett (60, pp. 149–70) suggest three aspects to be evaluated: presage, process, and product criteria. By the term *presage* they mean all the evidence that can be obtained ahead of time to predict the effectiveness of the effort. Evaluations of teacher education institutions and their programs are in this category. *Process criteria* refer to an examination of what happens to students as they prepare to teach, while *product criteria* refer to pupil-gain measures.

Evaluation of operating programs of teacher education, especially through assessment of their graduates, has been very limited in the past, but much greater interest has appeared of late. Sandefur (122) developed a comprehensive model for this process in one institution. Later Sandefur (123) reported briefly on the use of such a continuous evaluation at his own institution, Western Kentucky University. Fitzgerald and Hadley (50) describe a plan for program modification based upon the assessment of the graduates of Fairmont State College.

NCATE requires product evaluation

The National Council for Accreditation in Teacher Education (NCATE) is the only national body charged with evaluating institutional programs for the preparation of teachers. Haberman and Stinnett (60, pp. 181–250) present the NCATE criteria and interpret and analyze those for both undergraduate and graduate programs. Significantly, in the last major revision of the standards a section, "Evaluation, Program Review and Planning", was introduced that requires institutions to set up plans to evaluate their product and to use the result of this evaluation in program modification (pp. 222–27).

Videotaped credentials

Another aspect of both evaluation and communication is the process of accumulating evidence concerning applicants for positions and evaluating their competence before employment. Modern media have been drawn on for this process, and a recent development is an attempt to determine the feasibility and advisability of using videotaped credentials such as recorded interviews and microlessons taught, but the results are still unclear (Bailey, 13).

State of the scene and the dissemination dilemma

Teacher education research summarized

What is really known about research in teacher education? Peck and Tucker (108) in summarizing their impressions after their exhaustive study of all the formal research they could locate came to seven impressions:

1 A systems approach to designing instruction results in improvement
2 Teachers of teachers should practice what they attempt to teach
3 Actual experience in the desired role, or well-designed simulations, produces better results than the usual course instruction
4 Using the above processes produces more "self-initiated, self-directed, effective" learning for teachers as well as for their pupils
5 Customary ways of preparing teachers produce some of the intended results, but also have undesirable effects
6 No research was found on the process of preparing teachers of teachers, nor on the preparation of any type of college teacher
7 Studies are now being done on pupil-gain as part of the evaluation of the effectiveness of teacher education programs (p. 943).

"Practical" knowledge

This analysis of research in teacher education is a storehouse of information for the researcher and some others, but as yet this type of survey does not provide much assistance for the classroom teacher. Lange and James (78) indicate that the many journals in foreign language education also do not provide the kind of information needed to know "what to do Monday morning and how to get it done" (p. 390).

Scholars needed

In a slightly different context Brickell (19), suggests the need, not for more researchers, but for "scholars who study research rather than conduct it, scholars who are interested in synthesizing the findings from many studies and delivering" the results in useable form to those who should have the information (p. 6).

Scholarship of theory

Perhaps two kinds of such scholars should be supported in large states and in special fields such as language teaching. One could be a student of theory and explore the contributions from all the related social and behavioral sciences with the assistance of other scholars, and from time to time in consort with others project a rationale that includes a base of comprehensive theory and concepts. Another, as a kind of professional "watchdog" could be a student of current practice and really keep up on developments throughout the world, probing deeply into all the evidence that could be extracted from research and experience, much of which now goes down the drain. (Andrews, 9, pp. 75–76).

Scholarship of practice

Communication dilemma

The dissemination and application dilemma is hardly new. In 1935 Schorling (125) wrote: "In dealing with the vast amount of investigational literature our teachers face the important task of blowing away the chaff and revealing the grain of truth. . . . It is even difficult to get critic teachers to read the research literature because this habit is none too commonly set up in courses in education" (p. 145).

Several professional organizations have been working at this problem for some time, but the solution is not apparent. In foreign language education this ACTFL Review Series is certainly a very positive step in the right direction.

Summary

1 Communication of theory, professional knowledge, and skill is still very ineffective in teacher education.
2 Traditional courses and credits must give way to understanding and demonstrated competence.
3 Entering students must be provided with knowledge for decision-making and readiness for professional learning.
4 Designers of professional learning now have available many learning procedures and instructional materials.

5 Comprehensive use of the field laboratory is only now coming into proper perspective.
6 Personnel in the field must be included in the evaluation and redesign of teacher education content and experiences.
7 New developments, refinements, and research findings are appearing at an encouraging rate.
8 The classroom teacher educator is the key figure in professional teacher education.
9 Effective communication of professional knowledge and skill is the most essential ingredient in moving toward a true profession of teaching.

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13

Bilingual/bicultural education: A need for understanding

Protase E. Woodford
Educational Testing Service

Emotional issue

In education, as in all areas, issues or movements capture the interest of many people and become the burning questions of the day. Today it is bilingual/bicultural education. For foreign language teachers few if any of the "burning questions" have been as emotionally charged as this question. The ingredients for an emotional issue exist: race; poverty; massive federal and state funds; job security for teachers; and at the heart, a point of view about the national society--whether the United States should be a country with a relatively homogeneous society in terms of customs, traditions, aspirations, *and language*, or a nation where differences in culture, lifestyle, and language are not only tolerated but encouraged. The Italian-American or Polish-American who accepted acculturation as an absolute necessity and as a mark of loyalty and patriotism is now asked to support "cultural pluralism" for the Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and Franco-American. Not only is he asked for support, he is also accused of having an "Anglo mentality," of imposing his culture on others, of denying educational and economic opportunity to certain of his fellow citizens.

The proponents of bilingual/bicultural education must communicate effectively not only with others who share their views, but with the representatives of the "majority culture," with parent groups, politicians, and the educational establishment.

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Those areas where all can agree must be stressed and the rhetoric controlled.

Kinds of bilingualism

Interpretation of bilingual education

Officials of a state education agency recently invited school administrators, bilingual education specialists, and specialists in the teaching of English as a second language to form a committee to develop guidelines for the certification of bilingual/ESL teachers. Asked whether a single credential should be issued for certification in bilingual education and ESL, both the ESL and the bilingual group strongly urged the establishment of independent credentials. During later discussion concerning skills essential for the bilingual teacher in various subject-matter areas at the secondary school level, a representative of the state teachers association wanted to know why that was at issue since, as she understood the aims of bilingual education, the major goal was to prepare students through bilingual education to enter the regular English language medium curriculum as rapidly as possible. Obviously not all present at the meeting accepted a common definition of bilingual education. Indeed the term *bilingualism* itself is still interpreted in various ways.

The layman often thinks of the bilingual person as one whose competence in Language A is equivalent to his competence in Language B. This is generally not the case (Ulibarrí and Holemon, 46). The actual "language profile" of the bilingual can be one of an almost infinite variety. If a bilingual person's degree of command of the four language skills in each of the two languages were to be measured, using as a criterion the perform-

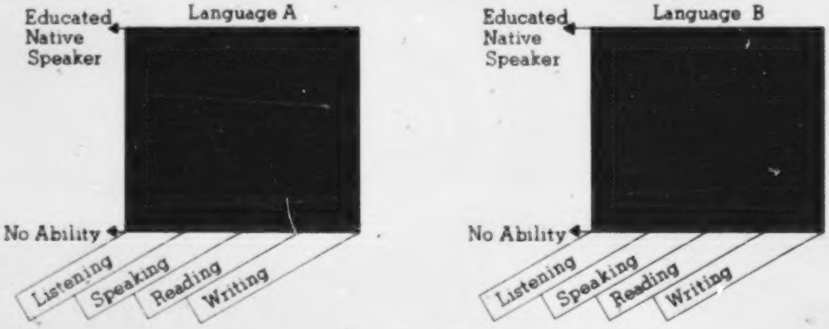

Figure 13.1

Language skills profiles

ance of an "educated native speaker" (Clark 7, p. 123), the truly "equilingual" bilingual would present the profile shown in Figure 13.1.

The educated native speaker criterion is used by U.S. government agencies for assessing the foreign language competence of personnel in speaking (and, indirectly, listening comprehension) and reading. The same performance criteria are used for all languages.

A person possessing "native" skills in each of two languages as described above is exceedingly rare. A hypothetical model for a foreign language "major" who had learned the second language in an academic setting might be something like this:

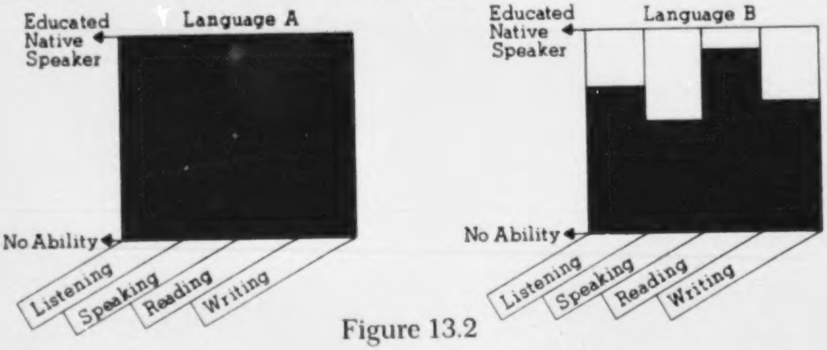

Figure 13.2

Whereas the first example is not common, the second is rather typical. Most bilinguals demonstrate mastery of one language and less than educated native speaker competence in the other language. This is almost always true when the home language is the national language and the second language a foreign language. The term *bilingual* here refers to persons who demonstrate abilities in two languages. It is not used, as is now common in some parts of the country, as an ethnic descriptor. Indeed, the major problem facing the bilingual in the ethnic sense is that he is often monolingual.

The American child brought up in a home and community where English is not the dominant language and schooled exclusively through the medium of English might present the profile shown in Figure 13.3 by the time he reached secondary school (if he could survive the system that long).

Implications of language skills levels

If *Language A* is the home language, the child may well have attained a level of competence in oral skills almost equivalent to that of the educated native speaker of his age. However, hav-

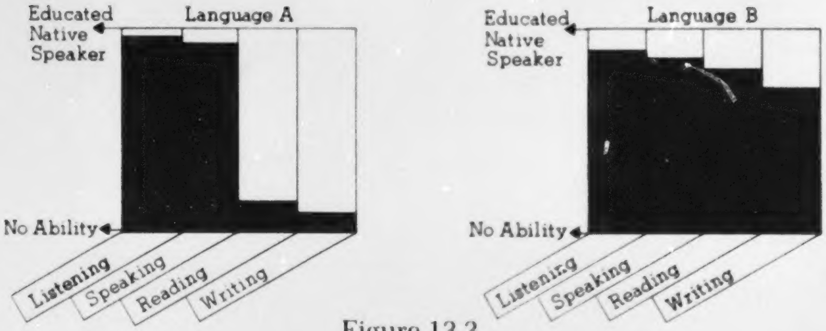

Figure 13.3

ing received no training in the skills of reading and writing in his home language, he could be expected to be “illiterate” in that language. In his school language, if he has been able to reach secondary school, he will most likely have developed sufficient ability in each of the four skills to function in the classroom. These abilities, however, may not necessarily be equivalent to those of the monolingual native speaker, simply because of reduced contact with the language and because of the extra burden of having had to learn the graphic system of a language whose sound system was unfamiliar to him. Nevertheless, his abilities in reading and writing in the school language can be expected to be significantly superior to his abilities in these skills in his home language.

A lack of understanding of the varieties of bilingualism often leads to grave errors on the part of school administrators and other decision-makers. In a well-meaning effort to provide more appropriate measures of aptitudes and abilities for bilingual students, tests using English have often been abandoned in favor of tests printed in the student's home language. The student is thus faced with a language he may never have seen before in print and a test designed for use with students in another culture, thousands of miles away (DeAvila, 10). Should he do poorly on such a test, the decision-makers merely find confirmation of previous assessments of low academic ability.

Not only do bilinguals present different language profiles, but they also often show preference for a specific language in a particular domain. At a meeting of Puerto Rican physicians convened to develop medical board examinations, where all participants were native speakers of Spanish and highly competent in English, proceedings were carried out in Spanish except where medical or technical terminology was at issue. At such points the language of the proceedings became English. The "language switch" was not due to a deficiency in the Spanish language with regard to technical and medical language, but rather to the fact that this group of physicians had received their medical training in English.

Language domains

Types of bilingual programs

Bilingual education programs in the United States are generally classified according to two basic types: transitional bilingual education programs, where instruction is initiated in the language of the pupil and continued until the child is proficient in English, at which time the home language is phased out (Ulibarrí 45), and programs in which some or all subject matter is taught in both languages throughout the child's school career.

Bicultural component

Bicultural education is widely considered a necessary component of any successful bilingual program (29). Among the elements commonly found in bicultural programs are: teacher training in the history and culture of the pupil's home language (La Fontaine, 21), recognition in all subject areas of the contributions of the child's home culture, and inclusion in the curriculum of material dealing with the history and culture of the child's home language group. Although it is common today to speak of bilingual/bicultural education, one may be bilingual without being bicultural and vice versa (Ulibarrí, 45). Ulibarrí and Holemon (46) stress that bilingualism and biculturalism are two distinct phenomena, the latter referring to sociocultural elements that go beyond language. They define biculturalism as "a functioning awareness and participation in two contrasting sociocultures, values, and statuses.

ESL component

English as a Second Language (ESL) is a usual component of bilingual programs, especially of transitional bilingual programs. Where all the pupils in an ESL class come from a specific language background, exercises contrasting English and the home language are common (Pool, 35). ESL instruction is contrasted with English instruction for native speakers in that it is usually based on the assumption that the student has little or no mastery of English at entry levels, and acquisition of oral language skills is stressed by means of foreign language teaching techniques. The goal of the ESL course or program is to prepare the bilingual student to be able to receive instruction in English.

Goals of the bilingual/bicultural programs

Failure of the educational system

Rationale for bilingual education

The failure of the American educational system to educate effectively millions of our children whose background is other than the white, middle class, monolingual English-speaking standard approaches being a national scandal and is well documented. Five years ago in four of five southwestern states, 80 percent of the Spanish-surnamed population aged 14 and over had not completed high school. The dropout rate was over 50 percent (Pucinski, 38). In Texas 30 percent of the students are Chicanos; they constitute 80 percent of the dropouts (Galvan, 15). Because the system was failing the non-English-speaking youngsters and, more importantly perhaps, because government recognition of the problem and funding for approaches toward the resolution of the problem were forthcoming, alternatives appeared. The rationale for bilingual education at the primary level is essentially the following: The normal procedure for a child to become literate is to learn graphic symbols to represent the sounds of *his* language. If the child's language is not the language of the school, the school is responsible for providing for the child's attainment of literacy in his own language, while simultaneously providing him with instruction leading to mastery of the oral form of the school language and eventually literacy in the school language as well. There is general agreement regarding the objective stated above. Neither "transitionalists" nor proponents of full bilingualism/biculturalism would object. For the purposes of "transitional" bilingual education in its narrowest sense, the role of the child's home language and culture in the school setting is strictly to provide a bridge to the standard curriculum. If early instruction in Portuguese will enable a Luso-American child to master English more quickly and efficiently, the transitionalist will support a bilingual program in Portuguese.

The goals of the bilingual programs seem to fall into three major categories:

Major goals

1 Language acquisition and maintenance, usually acquisition of English language skills and, though not always, maintenance of home language skills
2 Development of skills and progress in the other curricular areas using the home language initially as the medium of instruction
3 Cultural awareness and improved self-image

Teacher insensitivity

The significance of the bicultural element of bilingual/bicultural education becomes clear in the area of cultural awareness and improved self-image. Not only must the bilingual teacher have sufficient mastery of the language used as the medium of instruction, he must also have an understanding of and an empathy for the students' home culture. Indeed, the teacher's empathy with the student may be of more importance for effective bilingual teaching than his second language ability (Ulibarrí, 45). Zintz (48) recounts the experience of a Navajo boy who came to school wearing markings of soot and grease. The teacher asked him to wash, which he refused to do. She then washed him herself. The markings were part of a healing ritual for the boy's sick sister who subsequently died. Neither the boy nor any member of his family ever set foot in the school again. The damage to young personalities caused by insensitive teachers ignorant of the culture and values of the youngsters in their charge is incalculable. Until quite recently the use of Spanish by children on school property in many areas of the Southwest was a punishable offense, the punishment ranging from fines of a penny per word uttered in the forbidden tongue to a cleansing of the mouth with soap. Carter (5) describes the practice of assigning "American" names to children with Spanish names, Juanito becoming Johnny; Guillermo, Billy.

Teacher ethnicity

That language ability alone does not guarantee empathy and cultural understanding is stressed by Ulibarrí (45) and by Zintz (48). Some programs have recruited bilingual teachers from outside the community, on the assumption that common ethnicity would ensure greater understanding and empathy. Such teachers often experience "culture shock" of two kinds: in attempting to fit into an alien school organization and in attempting to relate to children who, though sharing the same ethnic origins as the teacher, may be quite different culturally and linguistically (Hess, 18).

The affective goals of bilingual/bicultural education are con-

Some affective goals

sidered to be at least as important as second language acquisition and subject-matter mastery: "The learner's self-concept will be constantly considered by the school" (Zintz, 48). "The child will have improved self-concept due to personal and cultural acceptance" (Pryor, 37). "Specific attention is given to develop in the child a positive identity with his cultural heritage, self-assurance, and confidence" (Edgar, 11). However, the affective objectives as commonly stated are often vague and imprecise. Ulibarrí and Holemon (46) recommend the development of behavioral objectives whose attainment can be measured. They recommend objectives such as "the bilingual child will participate in more extra curricular activities; he will learn more about his cultural values and will see the difference between his native culture and the Anglo-American value system; he will understand the process of acculturation." Ulibarrí (45) considers the measurement of attainment of objectives in the affective domain to be of critical importance.

Need for clearly defined objectives

Among the "behavioral objectives" set down for one project is the following: By the first week of March, 80 percent of the students will recite the "Pledge of Allegiance" in Spanish and English with 100 percent accuracy. While this may be a clear and measurable objective, one has to wonder how worthwhile it is (Pryor, 37).

Compensatory education

Bilingual/bicultural education programs often resemble "compensatory" education programs in their objectives and activities. They provide children with experiences they lack that are normally expected of typical majority culture children upon entry into school. Ulibarrí (45) points out that most bilinguals belong to minority groups who have less accessibility to the economic base of the nation, the social life of the American people, the educational opportunities of the schools. To consider all bilingual/bicultural children in need of compensatory education would be a grave error; indeed, quite the opposite may be needed—in the form of accelerated, challenging programs to meet the special needs of special children. Although most bilinguals do belong to minority groups with limited access to all the benefits of the larger society, not all do. Whereas the educational establishment stresses the importance of recognizing individual differences among children, there is often a reluctance to recognize the social and cultural differences that exist within minority groups. Educators who are ig-

Importance of sociocultural factors

norant of these differences will attribute differences in abilities and achievement to ethnic factors rather than sociocultural factors. For example, one occasionally hears educators, particularly in the East, compare the academic achievement of Cuban and Puerto Rican students, usually extolling the former and lamenting the latter. That most of the Cuban children come from middle-class homes with middle-class values not very different from the middle-class values of the majority culture while the Puerto Rican students tend to come from a lower socioeconomic background seems to bear little relevance. The Puerto Rican counterparts of the middle-class Cubans can more often be found in Ponce or San Juan than in Miami or Union City.

For the majority also

One of the early (1963) successful bilingual programs—the Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County, Florida—included, from the beginning, a Spanish program for English-speaking children. Other bilingual programs, however, focused solely on the non-English-speaking child. Even today many bilingual programs are no more than English as a Second Language programs with no bicultural component and no impact on the majority-culture child. If the goal for the non-English-speaking child to become bilingual and bicultural is worthwhile, is it not also a worthwhile goal for the English-speaking child? In the North Country Bilingual Project in Derby, Vermont, all English-speaking children were enrolled in French classes beginning in Grade 1. A Canadian studies program was developed. The goal was to have all Anglo students participate in the Canadian studies program and learn French (Ludanyi, 23).

In 1942 Bloomfield (4) observed that "progress in reading for children who are required to begin their formal education in a second language depends upon progress in speaking the second language, and especially vocabulary development. Oral language development, therefore, should run well ahead of reading instruction at all stages" (pp. 25–30). After more than 30 years, Bloomfield's observations are being put into practice in bilingual classrooms.

Since most evidence suggests learning to read and write in the home language first is more effective, few educators will object to the home language being used to introduce the child to reading and writing. When the issue becomes one of full bilingualism and home language maintenance, it takes on strong

Bilingual education for acculturation

emotional overtones. School districts and school administrators who see bilingual education only as a process for rapid acculturation of non-English-speaking children or children with limited English ability and as an effective means of hastening their entry into the standard curriculum readily accept bilingual education (and the accompanying Federal funds). When a bilingual/bicultural education program is proposed that gives equal status and dignity to the child's home language for six, eight, or 12 years, it presents the community with a decision that can cause a great deal of soul searching. School board members and administrators who were brought up committed to the "melting pot" must be educated to understand and appreciate the idea of a cultural and linguistic "mosaic." The son or grandson of immigrants who arrived with all the cultural and linguistic handicaps of the contemporary non-English speakers may not realize that in a highly industrialized, technologically advanced twentieth-century United States Papa or Grandpa might never have succeeded. Quite apart from the psychic damage that may have resulted from being forced to reject one's language and culture, no one has calculated how many new arrivals never did get melted down in the pot and as a result ended up discarded on the social slag heap. The fact is that commitment to a goal of full bilingualism and biculturalism does mean rejection of the "melting pot" idea. To accept bilingualism and biculturalism as a goal is to accept the idea that the nation is enriched by variety and should strive to foster and encourage cultural diversity. The ultimate goal in this context is no longer the creation of a "standard homogenized American."

Melting pot vs. mosaic

Before goals are established for any of the various types of bilingual/bicultural programs, a fundamental question must be asked. The response to the question will determine the kind of program to be developed. The question is "Is bilingualism desirable or undesirable?" (Andersson and Boyer, 1, p. 41). At first glance the establishment of a bilingual program where bilingualism is considered undesirable appears to be contradictory. Nevertheless, many programs labeled "bilingual" have as their ultimate goal the eventual elimination of the home language, at least in the school setting.

Is bilingualism desirable?

Andersson and Boyer (1) describe two policies dealing with bilingualism. The first, where bilingualism is considered undesirable for the nation is: "The eventual elimination, by educa-

Policies for bilingualism

tion and decree, of all but one language, which remains to serve for both official and general purposes." (p. 41) The second, where bilingualism is considered desirable for the nation is: "The recognition and preservation of important languages within the national scene, supplemented by universal use of one or more languages to serve for official purposes and for communication across language boundaries (p. 41)."

Bilingual, and to a lesser extent, bicultural education programs can exist and be supported under either policy. Adherence to one policy or the other will not determine so much whether there will be a bilingual/bicultural program but rather, what form such a program will take and what goals it will establish. Marí Luci Ulibarrí (47), recognizing the use of bilingual education for purposes of acculturation and eventual elimination of the home language, stated forcefully, "Bilingual education is another trick of the educational system to stall for time in order to perpetuate the status quo. It is much less work and effort to make concessions within the existing framework than to change it" (pp. 391–92). She sees bilingual education as a tool for acculturation in the hands of the melting-pot concept adherents. Yet, bilingual/bicultural education can serve those who support the idea of cultural pluralism as a basis for restructuring the educational system.

Restructuring the educational system

Categories of bilingual education

Fishman (13) proposes a typology of bilingual education programs based on differing kinds of community and school objectives. There are four categories. Fishman describes a program representative of each type.

Transitional

Type I: In a transitional bilingualism program Spanish is used in the early grades to the extent necessary to allow students to "adjust to school" and/or to "master subject matter" until their skill in English is developed to the point that it alone can be used as the medium of instruction. Such programs do not strike toward goals of fluency and literacy in both languages, with opportunity throughout the curriculum for the continued, improved mastery of each. Rather, they state goals such as "increasing overall achievement of Spanish-speaking students by using both Spanish and English as media of instruction in the primary grades." Such programs (consciously or unconsciously) correspond to a societal objective of language shift and give no consideration to long-range institutional development and support of the mother tongue.

Type II: Monoliterate bilingualism programs have goals of development in both languages for aural-oral skills, but literacy skills in the mother tongue are not a concern. Thus, developing fluency in Spanish is emphasized as a link between home and school, and recognition and support for the language in the domains of home and neighborhood are provided, but the development of literary skills in the non-English mother tongue is not a concern. This type of program is intermediate in orientation between language shift and language maintenance. The likely societal effect of such a program might be one of language maintenance in the short run, but given exposure to American urban society, the students might well shift away from their mother tongue.

Monoliterate bilingualism

Type III: Partial bilingualism programs encourage fluency and literacy in both languages, but literacy in the mother tongue is restricted to certain subject matter, most generally that related to the ethnic group and its cultural heritage. In such a program reading and writing skills in the mother tongue are commonly developed in relation to the social sciences, literature, and the arts, but not in science and mathematics. This kind of program is clearly one of language maintenance (and perhaps even of cultural development, should the program result in the production of poetry and other literacy art forms).

Partial bilingualism

Type IV: In full bilingualism programs students are to develop all skills in both languages in all domains. Typically, both languages are used as media of instruction for all subjects (except in teaching the languages themselves). Clearly this program is directed at language maintenance and development of the minority language.

Full bilingualism

Writing in 1969 and looking to the future of bilingual education, Andersson and Boyer (1) insisted that "nothing short of undeniable success will assure bilingual schooling of more than temporary public favor." They then set forth a list of short-term goals or benefits they felt could reasonably be achieved or demonstrated within six years.

Andersson and Boyer's goals

In 1975 it will be six years since the publication of the list of objectives. The Office of Education is sponsoring a large-scale impact study of Title VII (39). The study will cover programs funded under Title VII as well as programs funded locally or by states. Data will be gathered to indicate the effect of bilingual education on language, subject-matter mastery, and atti-

USOE Impact Study

tudes. The effect of bilingual education on children, their parents, the community, and the educational establishment will be studied. By 1976 the results of the study should be available. It will then be possible to determine whether the goals and benefits of bilingual education identified by Andersson and Boyer in 1969 have, generally, been achieved.

Clearly, the goals and objectives of bilingual/bicultural education are various and depend upon the ultimate goal of each program, from simple transition or language shift to full bilingualism or home language maintenance and development. Certain objectives appear consistently in programs of all types. These objectives, it seems, can be supported by advocates of the melting pot as well as the cultural pluralists. Among the affective goals are the enhancement of the child's self-image and respect and appreciation for his home language and culture. These objectives are to be attained by encouraging the child to use his home language in the school setting (a dramatic departure from the once common practice of proscribing the use of the home language in school); involving parents and the "other language" community in the program in a variety of ways (for example, as resources for cultural studies or as developers of culturally authentic materials for classroom use); including material dealing with the child's home culture in various content areas such as social studies and language arts; providing the child's monolingual English-speaking peers with instruction and material dealing with the "other language" group's culture, aspirations, and attainments; and providing preservice or inservice training to teachers that will develop in them an understanding of and empathy for the culture of the non-English-speaking child.

Affective goals

Cognitive goals

In the cognitive domain there is general agreement that among the major goals must be the elimination of the gap in achievement levels between non-English-speaking children and the majority group. For children to gain in academic achievement, they must remain in school and feel a sense of accomplishment. The fact that a bilingual/bicultural approach to the education of non-English-speaking children is endorsed by both transitionalists *and* cultural pluralists attests to the recognition by both that initial instruction and literacy in the home language is an effective means for teaching children both subject-matter content *and* English.

Implementing a program

Beginning a bilingual program

In an area with a sizeable population of non-English-speaking families, how do school authorities decide whether to establish a bilingual/bicultural education program? If a decision is made to establish a program, what type of program will it be?

The most recommended first step is an assessment of the needs of the community (Andersson and Boyer, 1). Community involvement in the planning and implementation of such an assessment is critical, as is continued collaboration and information exchange between school and community, should a bilingual/bicultural education program be established. Swanson (43) describes a meeting with parents and community representatives as one of the first steps in developing a bilingual program in an Illinois community. Following the meeting an advisory council of parents and teachers was formed.

Study committees

A Study Committee is recommended by Andersson and Boyer (1). The Study Committee should be composed of both educators and laymen, and should be representative of both the non-English-speaking group and the English-speaking group. It should not reflect only one point of view regarding bilingual/bicultural education and should include advocates as well as skeptics. Members of the study committee will be expected to acquaint themselves with the literature, visit model bilingual/bicultural programs, investigate costs of developing and carrying out a program, survey available resources and–most important–go out into the community to collect the information needed about the people the program is expected to serve. Fishman (13) cautions planners of bilingual/bicultural education programs not to limit their study to the gathering of the standard data on number of speakers, years of schooling, income, and so on. A critical area for which information is needed is the societal status of the language of the non-English-speaking community. It would be fruitless for the school to attempt to establish a program leading to development of all skills in both English and the home language in a community in the process of language shift. Equally unproductive would be efforts toward establishment of a transitional bilingual program in a community determined to maintain its own language in most or all societal domains. Steiner (42) cautions against assuming language dominance in children without directly evaluating

Duties of study committees

Background data

Societal status of languages

their skills in both languages prior to school entry. Many children assumed to be Spanish-dominant actually have greater skills in English.

Role of the coordinator

If, on the basis of the assessment of community needs, the survey of financial and instructional resources, and the desires of the community, a decision is made to establish a bilingual/bicultural education program, responsibility for day-to-day operation by the program must be assigned. This responsibility is typically given to the bilingual/bicultural program coordinator, who should be a bilingual educator. The coordinator often has primary responsibility for teacher recruitment, curriculum development, materials acquisition, and program evaluation and is often called upon to perform public relations functions and to serve as liaison with state and federal agencies concerned with bilingual education.

Advisory committees

Responsibilities of advisory committees

Many successful bilingual/bicultural education programs have made extensive use of advisory committees (LaFontaine, 21), which in many respects continue the work of the planning committee; membership can be drawn from the planning committee. Both should be broadly representative of the community, including representatives of both the non-English-speaking group and the majority culture. A major function of the advisory committee should be to serve as liaison between the school and the community, helping to inform the community about the program and its goals and providing the school with reactions from the community.

Bilingual teacher qualifications

The most important resource for the implementation of a bilingual/bicultural program—and a resource that is in critically short supply—is the competent bilingual/bicultural teacher. Therefore, two difficult questions to answer in establishing a bilingual/bicultural education program are: Who will be the teachers? and Where will they be found? The qualifications necessary for a bilingual teacher are beyond those required of a monolingual teacher of the same subject or grade level. As has been stressed by Andersson and Boyer (1), Ulibarrí (45), Zintz (48) and others, the bilingual teacher is not simply an ESL teacher. The bilingual teacher is expected to be a professional with valid credentials who can teach the material of the particular class or course both in English and in the children's home language and who possesses an understanding of and empathy for the culture of the non-English-speaking children.

Ulibarrí (45) lists the following "extra" qualifications of a bilingual teacher: a deep understanding of sociocultural theory, child growth and development, and personality development theory. The teacher must know—through experience, interaction, and study—and be empathetic to the sociocultural background of the bilingual/bicultural children. Ulibarrí (46) feels that bilingualism in the teacher is preferred, but it is not imperative. More important is that the teacher be bicultural and not overly committed emotionally to the roles and value systems of either culture.

Sources of bilingual teachers

Considering the qualifications expected of bilingual teachers, it is not surprising that the demand often exceeds supply. The majority of existing bilingual programs are below the secondary school level. Bilingual teachers for such programs should have elementary certification and second language proficiency. Most foreign language specialists, however, have been trained for secondary school teaching and lack the appropriate credentials (and, indeed, suitable preparation and training) for elementary school teaching. How do bilingual/bicultural programs acquire the appropriate staff? In some programs the regular monolingual classroom teacher continues to function approximately as usual. There is a strong ESL component in the hands of an itinerant specialist, and the school district hires a bilingual teacher aide who may function solely as a teacher-helper who collects milk money, buttons coats, and the like. In other instances, the bilingual teacher may be an ESL specialist who takes responsibility for that aspect of the curriculum as well.

Models for staffing

The minority culture teacher

When the potential of bilingual/bicultural education began to be recognized and funds became available for support of programs, school officials suddenly took note of a previously unrecognized resource: the credentialed teachers in the school systems who happened to belong to the target non-English-speaking community. Many of these teachers found themselves teaching in bilingual programs for which they may have had neither interest nor preparation. A Mexican-American or Puerto Rican college graduate, raised in Los Angeles or Brooklyn, may speak and understand Spanish quite well. He may even read the language and write it. To expect this person to use Spanish as the medium of instruction when all of his academic training has been in English is quite another thing. It is not uncommon to find teachers belonging to the non-English group who are quite unsympathetic to the idea of bilingual/bicultural education. Because they were able to succeed in the dominant culture, it may be difficult for them to recognize and appreciate the difficulties faced by others less adaptable than themselves. The model bilingual/bicultural teacher, who can serve as an authentic speech model in English and in the home language and who possesses all the other qualities and talents desirable, is rare.

The teaching team

Another approach is that of the teaching team made up of one Spanish-speaking teacher and one English-speaking teacher. Language is taught by the teacher in his native language. Other subjects are taught by one or the other teacher or are taught partly by one and partly by the other in their respective languages. Andersson and Boyer (1) recommend the use of native speakers as models for each language; others prefer that bilingual/bicultural teachers be members of the same linguistic and ethnic group as the children. A source of bilingual teachers is the credentialed, experienced foreign or overseas teacher. School districts have recruited teachers from areas such as Puerto Rico. Because Puerto Rico is the United States, the universities in the Commonwealth usually enjoy accreditation by recognized mainland accrediting agencies and have teacher-training curricula compatible with those found on the mainland. However, common ethnicity and language does not necessarily mean empathy for the specific group whose children the teacher is teaching. A middle-class Puerto Rican teacher, unsympathetic toward the people of the barrio and their problems, may be less successful than a monolingual English speaker who understands the culture of his students and respects the goals and aspirations of the community. The bicultural teacher should serve as a model of biculturalism to the students. The teacher whose militant advocacy of the home-language culture may lead the children into activities that are socially unacceptable is as much to be avoided as the teacher whose major aim is the acculturation of the child (Ulibarrí and Holemon, 46).

The bilingual teacher as a model of biculturalism

Measurement and evaluation in bilingual/bicultural programs

Evaluation needs

Assessment or evaluation is necessary to recognize deficiencies in a program, to discover strengths and weaknesses in students or in teachers. The information gained from such assessments should be used to improve instruction and meet the needs of children better. This is as true in bilingual/bicultural education as it is in all other educational processes. The need for evaluation and assessment is clear, but the procedures, the means, and the instruments, present problems. To evaluate a program, the goals and objectives of the program must not only be stated, but must be stated in such a way that their attainment is clear and measurable. Affective goals are particularly difficult to define in a measurable way. If there is no way to determine whether goals have been achieved, the goals themselves tend to be no more than words. "Improved self-image" and "better concept of self" are laudable objectives, but are of little value to a program unless behavioral manifestations of the improved self-concept and image can be perceived and evaluated (Ulibarrí, 45; Trevino, 44). Willingness to use the home language in school, interaction and socialization with majority-culture classmates, participation in school activities are listed as indicators of a healthy self-concept in various programs. In a study of the effects of bilingual education on attitudes, Politzer and Ramírez (36) reported that students in a bilingual program, when asked to rate tape recordings of voices speaking standard English, standard Spanish, Hispanicized English, and standard English with Hispanicized Spanish names, rated the Spanish version highest. The students not in the bilingual program did not. The experiment obviously uses an attitude test that might serve as a model for a measure of "self-image." To evaluate a program, a variety of assessment tasks must be carried out—aptitudes and abilities of children, mastery of subject-matter content, language proficiency (in both English and the home language and in all four skills if appropriate), and attitudes. The measurement of aptitudes and mental abilities or IQ of children who are not middle-class members of the dominant culture has come under attack. The practice of placing children into classes for the educable mentally retarded on the basis of an IQ test administered in English when their home language is other than English has received widespread publicity and general opprobrium.

Need for clear statements of goals

Difficulty in assessing affective goals

Children's reactions to languag differences

Necessary assessment tasks

If English-language IQ tests are inappropriate measures for non-English-speaking children so, too, can be tests administered in the child's home language. Such tests may simply be translations of English-language instruments with cultural irrelevancies intact, or they may be instruments designed for children who, though sharing essentially the same language, come from a very different cultural background. Before any foreign tests are considered for use with non-English-speaking children, they should first be scrutinized to determine the extent of their linguistic and cultural "fit" for the population to be tested.

IQ tests

Children in a bilingual program will have to be tested routinely in various content areas to assess their progress. The language medium for testing should be the same as the medium for instruction. If children are taught social studies in French, the social studies test should be in French as well. Although this is recommended for early grades, there are indications that once linguistic competence is attained in the second language, transfer of information across languages can readily be accomplished (D'Anglejan and Tucker, 8).

Appropriateness of tests for minority children

Test formats to conform to linguistic strengths

Subject-matter tests are normally in one language and limited to two skills, reading and writing. If bilinguals have an unequally developed set of skills in two languages, it might be desirable to create measures in skill modalities that would conform to the linguistic strengths of the examinee. For example, if a student has a fully developed oral ability in Navajo but no reading or writing ability in that language and has moderate oral skills in English and moderate reading and writing skills in English, the optimum test modalities for him might be spoken Navajo and printed English. If bilingual students require evaluation of their attainment in subject-matter areas, they also require continuous evaluation of their linguistic development both in English and in the home language. This evaluation is essential for decision-making at various times and for various purposes. An initial assessment of language dominance is needed to determine whether there is a need for a program of instruction in the home language. This is done in some programs by means of a questionnaire to parents. Reliance on indirect indicators of language dominance such as surnames, ethnicity, and parents' language dominance is questionable.

Evaluation of language skills

Determination of language dominance

The most valid measure of language dominance is obtained through an assessment of performance in the language. Such assessments, despite their high validity, are open to questions of reliability because they depend on a rater's judgment. However, Natalicio and Williams (28) report interjudge reliabilities

Rating language performance

of .90 or greater for all aspects of performance except prediction of reading achievement (0.00), pathologies (.19), and Standard American English intonation (.78). The high degree of consistency among the ratings of the 14 evaluators on the linguistic aspects of the children's performances would seem to indicate that direct measures of language dominance need not be unreliable.

Determination of linguistic readiness for transition

Evaluation of children's language abilities in English and in the home language should be carried out routinely in all language skills. Of particular importance is the determination of when the bilingual child is ready linguistically to enter the regular English medium stream in a transitional bilingual program. In the bilingual education legislation of one state appears the statement that the child of limited English-speaking ability must be enrolled in a bilingual education program for three years "or until such time as he achieves a level of English language skills which will enable him to perform successfully in classes in which instruction is given only in English, whichever shall first occur" (24). Legislation in Massachusetts requires the establishment of a bilingual program only if there are 20 or more children of limited English-speaking ability belonging to a specific home language group. Problems with finances and staffing may lead administrators to attempt to mainstream bilingual children as soon as possible. Because legislation does not specify the procedure used to determine that a child has achieved "a level of English language skills that will enable him to perform successfully in classes in which instruction is given only in English," great care must be taken to ensure that the child is indeed ready. What must be measured is the bilingual student's acquisition of the subject-matter content prerequisite for success in the English-medium class and his ability in English in the four skills necessary for functioning in the classroom. The student's English language readiness must be assessed against a real-life criterion. This criterion might be those English language abilities in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing that are possessed by monolingual English-speaking students of the same age and grade who are at least minimally competent in the English-medium class. What is needed is an analysis of minimum requirements in English listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing for success in each of the grades from kindergarten on.

When is a child ready for mainstreaming?

Need for analysis of language requirements

Instruments for assessing reading ability and writing for monolingual English speakers at different grade levels exist and might be useful with bilingual students. Measures for listening comprehension and speaking ability will most likely have to be developed.

Procedures are being developed for assessing the oral language competence of French-English bilingual adolescents. The Border Junior College Consortium and Educational Testing Service collaborated in the development of diagnostic English tests for bilingual Mexican-American college students and measures of verbal aptitude in an English medium, a Spanish medium, and a mixed-language/English-Spanish medium. The verbal aptitude tests contained both listening comprehension and reading material. A number of tests of Spanish language reading ability and subject-matter tests are available. The Department of Education in Puerto Rico has developed multiple forms of English reading tests, Spanish reading tests, mathematics tests, English listening comprehension tests, and Spanish language tests for assessing the abilities of Puerto Rican children at four levels, Grades 1–3, 4–6, 7–9, and 10–12. The Commonwealth Department of Education has made these tests available to mainland school districts with a significant Puerto Rican student population. Norms for Puerto Rico are available (Departamento de Instrucción Pública, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico). The *Inter-American Tests* are a battery of tests of reading and general ability in English and Spanish at various levels. These tests, older than the Puerto Rico Department of Education tests, are available through Guidance Testing Associates in Austin, Texas.

Tests available in Spanish

Inter-American tests

As with any standardized tests, great care must be taken to determine the appropriateness of tests such as those described above with regard to the specific population with which they will be used. Some of the questions that should be asked are: Is the content sampled in the test representative of the classroom content of the program? What are the characteristics of the reference population (the children in the norming sample)? Does the test require a skill that the children have not developed? (for example, must they be able to read in the home language to answer questions when they might not have been taught to read yet?) Is the variety of the home language used on the test familiar to the children? Will the information to be

Evaluating the test

gotten from the test be useful? A useful source of information on tests (and other materials as well) for bilingual education programs is the National Consortia for Bilingual Education, Fort Worth, Texas.

Bilingual/bicultural teacher preparation

Bilingual teachers sources

Bilingual/bicultural teachers are scarce. Very few bilingual/bicultural education programs are staffed by teachers whose professional preparation was directed toward bilingual education. The burden of training at present falls to workshops, preservice and inservice training programs, and programs at the Master's level for certification or credentialing of bilingual/bicultural teachers (Title VII Staff Development Component). In May 1973 a partial listing of bilingual training sessions developed by the New York City Board of Education described programs leading to a Master's degree with a specialization in bilingual education, as well as programs for paraprofessionals leading to the B.A.

Master's degree programs

A number of Master's degree programs were developed by community school districts working with participating colleges and universities such as New York University, Fordham University, Hunter College, City College, and Long Island University. A sample project is the one for New York City Community School District 20.

Bilingual Education Project—Title VII—Staff Development Component

Component Objectives

1 To train teachers in the methodology of bilingual education

2 Participant teachers will earn a Master's Degree with specialization in bilingual education.

Participating College or University

City College Graduate School of Education

Number of participants

Eight teachers

A potential source of bilingual/bicultural teachers that is now being tapped is the bilingual teacher aide population. Many teacher aides in the bilingual community have had formal higher education in their native countries. Many were teachers before coming to the United States. A combination of deficiency in English and certification requirements usually limits their involvement to the teacher-aide level.

"Career ladder" for teacher aides

La Fontaine (21) described a "career ladder" for bilingual teacher aides in New York City where the aides (usually parents) are helped to obtain a high school diploma if they lack one. Once they have acquired a diploma, they are eligible for advancement to "educational assistant," where they perform a number of instructional tasks. The next step up the ladder is "educational associate," requiring a minimum of two years of college. Other rungs on this career ladder are "teacher intern," "bilingual professional associate," and finally, "teacher." Training and course work throughout the sequence are tuition-free.

Programs to certify foreign teachers and to prepare paraprofessionals for full teacher certification are valuable and necessary to staff currently operational bilingual/bicultural projects. It would be a mistake to believe that such programs alone will meet the ever-increasing need for professionally trained bilingual/bicultural teachers. It will be necessary for teacher-training institutions to create programs for young people wishing to specialize in bilingual/bicultural education.

Undergraduate program for bilingual teachers

A program leading to a Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education with an academic concentration in bilingual education was developed at the University of Texas at Austin (Michel, 25). In addition to 45 hours in the freshman and sophomore years emphasizing the traditional foundations (English, Philosophy, American History, Mathematics, and Science), this program has as its objective the development of academic competence in four disciplines: Linguistics, English, Spanish, and Culture. Because most bilingual/bicultural teachers in Texas will probably be teaching Mexican-American students, major emphasis in the culture component is on that group. Course offerings in this area include "Sociology of the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest," "The Chicano in American Culture," and "Mexico and Spanish North America since 1810." Freshmen who wish to enter the program must demonstrate proficiency in the non-English language. The University of Texas also offers programs leading to a Master's degree in bilingual education. Another Master's program in bilingual education is the one offered by the Institute of American Studies at Trinity College

Sample teacher training programs

in Washington (3). Course offerings in the Trinity program include "Language and Culture," "Language and Ethnocentrism," "Cultural Anthropology," "TESOL," "Language Variety," and "The Nature of Culture Shock." Emphasis in bilingual teacher training programs is on the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL), methods for teaching in bilingual education programs, and crosscultural understanding. In some programs there is provision for training prospective teachers in the teaching of the children's home language (Guerra, 17). Because the training of teachers is usually greatly influenced by the certification or credentialing procedures of the state, many institutions look to state education agencies for guidance in the development of their programs. The Education Association of at least one state has issued guidelines for bilingual education teacher preparation stressing the three basic areas: language, cultural history preparation, and professional preparation (29).

Guidelines for teacher preparation

A difficult question to resolve is Who is to teach the teachers? The number of experienced bilingual/bicultural education specialists with the academic credentials necessary for university teaching is certainly not proportionate to the number of students. In New York City 22 percent of the school children are Puerto Rican, but fewer than 1 percent of the teachers are (La Fontaine, 22). Admittedly, not all bilingual teachers need be of the same ethnicity as the students, but there are those who feel that only representatives of the children's culture can effectively train bilingual/bicultural teachers. The "Neorican" born and raised in New York City is not the same, culturally, as the *ponceño* or *caborrojeño*; neither is the Chicano in Chicago a Mexican. Aragón (2) sees only two alternatives for resolving the bilingual teacher-trainer problem: to "retread" the traditionally oriented university professor or to create programs leading to the doctorate for Chicano professors "steeped in the culture." He considers the "retreads" to be a "second team." In many cases it may be necessary to provide financial aid to Chicano doctoral candidates, and Aragón suggests that moneys that would be spent on "retreading" might better be spent in providing such financial aid.

Ethnicity of bilingual teachers

Bilingual teachers from the barrio

Financial aide for doctoral candidates

Just as a potential source for bilingual teacher-trainers exists within the Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Franco-American, or other ethnic community in the United States, so too does a source for bilingual teachers. Tomorrow's bilingual/bicultural teacher with a thorough understanding of the culture of the non-English-speaking community will be found, within the community. Teacher-training institutions and state agencies should make every effort to attract high school graduates from these communities into bilingual/bicultural teacher-training programs and provide financial assistance where needed.

Impact of the ESEA Title VII Bilingual Education Act

Bilingual program funding ESEA

In fiscal 1973, according to the U.S. Office of Education, 129,380 pupils were estimated to be participating in ESEA Title VII Bilingual Education programs. In addition, at least 187 schools not served by Title VII were estimated to have used funds from sources other than Title VII to support bilingual programs in one or more grades. The funds authorized for Title VII for fiscal 1973 were $135,000,000. However, only $35,080,000 were actually appropriated. Following is a listing of Title VII bilingual education projects by state, including number of programs, grant amounts and estimated pupil participation. (See p. 422.)

Of the 209 bilingual programs funded under Title VII, only 36 were for pupils above Grade 8. One hundred twenty-two programs were for pupils at or below Grade 4. The preponderance of programs designed for elementary schools, and specifically for the primary grades, would seem to indicate that the majority of programs supported under Title VII were of the transitional type. The Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) (1967–68) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 expired June 30, 1973. One of the purposes of Title VII, according to the Office of Education, was to serve as a demonstration program. Projects would be funded that could serve as models for school districts and state agencies in developing their own bilingual/bicultural programs.

TITLE VII as a demonstration program

Since the enactment of Title VII the educational community has become increasingly aware of bilingual education. For example, 10 states have passed legislation permitting the use of a language other than English for classroom instruction. In many states prior to 1969 the use of a language other than English for instruction was prohibited by law. In 1923, 34 states required that only English be used as a medium of instruction (Kloss, 20). As late as 1969 English was prescribed as the me-

Prohibition of foreign languages

State	*Number of programs*	*Estimated pupil participation*	*Grant amount*
Alaska	1	209	$ 170,170
Arizona	9	3,333	983,150
California	60	35,128	10,540,693
Colorado	7	3,339	938,803
Connecticut	3	626	97,750
Florida	3	640	1,010,293
Guam	1	424	189,528
Idaho	1	290	75,276
Illinois	2	810	570,738
Indiana	2	633	247,987
Louisiana	4	1,917	543,000
Maine	3	1,051	334,368
Massachusetts	7	1,935	783,784
Michigan	4	2,045	458,177
Montana	3	467	379,259
New Hampshire	1	220	158,500
New Jersey	4	2,382	819,866
New Mexico	12	4,800	1,353,209
New York	26	17,389	4,544,963
Ohio	1	423	120,771
Oklahoma	3	1,798	465,780
Oregon	1	415	125,640
Pennsylvania	2	3,011	675,275
Puerto Rico	1	377	85,000
Rhode Island	2	490	241,098
South Dakota	1	168	130,577
Texas	39	42,462	6,117,766
Trust Territory of Pacific	1	57	73,305
Utah	1	566	129,432
Virgini Islands	1	340	115,000
Washington	2	344	301,347
Wisconsin	1	446	158,913
U.S. TOTAL	209	129,380	$33,249,418

dium of instruction in both the public and private schools of Alabama, Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oregon, South Dakota, and West Virginia. It is interesting to note that Massachusetts, the first state to pass legislation (1972) making bilingual education mandatory whenever there are concentrations of children of limited English-speaking ability, was one of the states in 1969 where the use of English was obligatory in instruction. Massachusetts was accepting federal funds for bilingual education programs under Title VII, while Chapter 76 of the General Laws (20) still stated that school committees would approve private schools *only* "when the instruction in all the studies required by law is in English. . . ."

The Bilingual Education Act and its attendant publicity must be assumed to be responsible to some degree for the removal of many of the legal restrictions to bilingual education and for the interest in and support for bilingual education shown by various states. In 1973 Illinois allocated $2,370,000 for bilingual education and supported 49 programs. Only nine programs in Illinois in 1973 were still federally funded (Title VII), and one program was supported by the Chicago Board of Education. For fiscal 1974 the Illinois General Assembly increased its appropriation for bilingual education to $6,000,000. The number of Illinois children participating in bilingual programs was 16,000 (Seelye and Balasubramonian, 40), most of them in programs totally supported by state funds. In addition to Illinois, three other states have passed legislation authorizing funds for bilingual education, and nine states have budget-line items marked for bilingual education, although there is as yet no state legislation (39).

Illinois programs

State education agencies have published position papers and guidelines in support of bilingual education, recommended both federal and state funding sources, and pledged aid and support to local school districts (30, 33) in developing programs, training staff, acquiring materials, and program evaluation. In some areas the public is pressuring the state to support bilingual education. A suit was to be filed in 1974 in U.S. District Court to compel the Colorado Department of Education and the Commissioner of Education to provide bilingual/bicultural education to 26,000 Spanish-surname children. The plaintiffs were to be four state legislators, nine Mexican-American organizations, and the Chicano Education Project that initiated the action. These groups were to contend that 8,000 Mexican-American children in the Colorado schools spoke no English, and 18,000 lacked proficiency in English.

State education agencies and bilingual education

Colorado court case

A sample of programs

Bilingual/bicultural education programs have been developed and implemented at all levels from preschool through college. What is the design of the various programs and what have they accomplished? A look at a sample of programs at different levels might be helpful.

Typical programs

Bilingual/Bicultural Preschool Education Program, Compton (Calif.) Unified School District

Eleanor Franquez (14) describes the program in Compton, California. Children met in groups under the supervision of an aide who had undergone three months of intensive training or the equivalent. Children met in homes three days weekly for half-day sessions. The children would go to the school laboratory and meet for two flexibly scheduled classes. Four curriculum areas were included in the program: practical life, sensorial instruction, language, and mathematics. A trained professional kindergarten teacher and bilingual instructional aide worked with groups of parents to instruct them in Montessori methods. Programmed Montessori lessons were used by parents. Fifteen parents participated in the program. Among the learning activities used in the program were those leading to development of sound discrimination in English and Spanish, sound-letter associations, eye-hand coordination, and visual discrimination. Great emphasis was placed on parent involvement and parent teaching. Parents helped to develop didactic materials. The program developers list among the outcomes of the program "an increased self-concept for the child as he saw his parent participate in the teacher role. Each child grew more in the admiration of his parents and, in particular, his father." In evaluating the program, the report states that "pupil participation as observed by professional personnel showed child self-motivation, self-discipline, and self-direction in an atmosphere of spontaneity and joy." Another statement indicates that "the exhibiting of positive attitudes indicated social improvement." Unfortunately, the report does not indicate what means were used for assessing these outcomes.

Portuguese Bilingual/Bicultural Project, Artesia, California

Richard T. Hess (19) describes a Portuguese program. Four elementary classes were scheduled combining two grades each—K–1, 1–2, 3–4, 5–6. Average class size was 33 students. The following elements were stressed: language arts in both English and Portuguese; social science, where instruction was conducted in both English and Portuguese; and social living, "emphasizing the child's development in becoming a bilingual individual." Students were scheduled to attend the bilingual class for one hour daily. The bilingual curriculum content was expected to parallel the regular curriculum. Non-Portuguese-speaking children also participated in the program.

The Juan Morel Campos Bilingual Center, Chicago

Juan Morel Campos Bilingual Center

The Center was developed to meet the needs of sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade Spanish-speaking children newly arrived to the U.S. mainland (27). The objectives of the Center are to develop English language skills in all four skill areas and strengthen literacy in Spanish. Spanish-speaking children are initially taught academic subjects in Spanish. The bilingual teacher slowly makes the transition to English. Approximately half the school day is dedicated to intensive English instruction, the other half to the regular curriculum of mathematics, social studies, and science. A number of non-Spanish-speaking students voluntarily participate in the program and serve as English language models for the Spanish speakers. The schedule of the non-Spanish speakers is the same as for the Spanish speakers except that they attend regular language arts classes and Spanish classes when the Spanish speakers are in the intensive English program. Grouping is based on English proficiency; classes are ungraded. The pupil/teacher ratio is 16:1. A school-community representative and the Spanish resource teacher visit the children's homes throughout the year. Standardized pre- and posttests were administered in the following areas: aptitude, achievement in English, arithmetic problem-solving, and concepts. Analysis of the test results indicated that after eight months in the Center students demonstrated an increase in IQ score and statistically and educationally significant gains in English reading, spelling, language, and arithmetic problem-solving and Spanish reading and arithmetic problem-solving. Program goals in word knowledge and word discrimination as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Tests were not achieved (33).

Language varieties

Language "standards"

No one questions the wisdom of using a "standard American English" in bilingual/bicultural programs, but the variety of the home language to be used is a sensitive issue. In a Portuguese bilingual program, concern was expressed by Azorean students and their parents because the teacher was trained in Brazil and spoke with a pronunciation different from theirs (Hess, 19). Should students in bilingual programs in Maine or New Hampshire be taught French with a European or a Canadian pronunciation? Should a Cuban teacher teach Spanish to Mexican-American students? Should students be encouraged or even allowed to mix languages? The issue may be more readily resolved if it is considered as two issues, one of production and the other reception. The varieties of Spanish spoken by children across the country are many. To some bilingual teachers, many of these varieties may be incomprehensible. However, although children may themselves *speak* with a strong regional or local flavor, they can all *understand* a "standard" variety of speech. One need only listen to the voices on Spanish-language television, radio, and films to realize that they are mutually comprehensible to the Cuban, the Puerto Rican, and the Mexican-American. Many of the same Spanish-language commercials are aired in Los Angeles and New York. Christian (6) recounts an experience with school officials in the Southwest who didn't believe that Mexican-American five year olds could understand "real" or "standard" Spanish. Christian used his "university Spanish" and claims to have been understood perfectly by the children.

Language reception vs. language production

Christian endorses the teaching of a "standard Spanish" to children in bilingual education programs. "If the child learns to speak only as a worker on the ranch or in the barrio, in whatever language, his chance of leaving the ranch or the barrio becomes very limited." Palomares (31) sees no problem in children shifting regularly from exclusive use of one language to exclusive use of the other, with a language mix as a third form. The two positions represented by Christian and Palomares are not necessarily antithetical. The teacher, as receiver of language, will accept and comprehend the language the child brings from the home, standard or nonstandard. Indeed, it is most important that the child feel confidence in the ability of his home language to express his ideas and wishes (Christian, 6; Palomares, 31). To demean the language of the child is to demean him, his culture, and his people.

Mixed languages

The question of teacher language production is another issue. Whereas the teacher accepts all language, it is not incumbent

Teacher standard language

upon him to use the nonstandard varieties. The common procedure is to teach standard forms of both English and the home language but to accept without question any form of the home language spoken by the children. What is in effect being fostered in many instances is a sort of trilingualism. The child is encouraged to use his home dialect (if it is nonstandard) in all settings where it is appropriate (Mines, 26). The standard or prestige forms of English and the home language are taught in the school and are exclusively used by the teacher.

Outcomes

Bilingualism and intelligence

Evidence concerning the efficacy of bilingual/bicultural education is constantly being sought. A number of older studies have concluded that bilingualism *per se* has a detrimental effect on intellectual functioning. Of the studies undertaken since the 1920s on bilingualism and its effect on intelligence, a large proportion, according to Peale and Lambert (32), indicate a negative influence, a smaller proportion, little or no influence; only two studies suggest that bilingualism may have a favorable influence. In one study "bilingual" students were determined solely on the basis of the student's family name (Pintner, 34). In other studies the tests used for determining intelligence were often translations that had not been standardized for the target population; in other cases tests in only one language were used for all students regardless of their language dominance.

A study of Quechua/Spanish bilingual

In a study conducted in Peru and reported in 1972 three groups of children—monolingual Spanish speakers, monolingual Quechua speakers and bilingual Quechua/Spanish speakers—were compared in their abilities in the area of concept formation (Gonzáles-Moreyra and Aliaga, 16). The authors stated: "The results consistently tend to indicate that the bilingual group presents a relative deficit in its level of conceptual development" [translation mine]. Peal and Lambert (32) conclude that, considering that many of the early studies of the detrimental effects of bilingualism lacked important controls, the evidence to date would indicate that there is no significant difference between monolinguals and bilinguals on nonverbal intelligence. But on measures of verbal intelligence, bilinguals tend to be handicapped.

Poor quality of early studies of bilingualism

Other studies concluded that there were no significant differences in mental capacity between groups of monolinguals and bilinguals. A study of bilingual college freshmen in 1944 indicated a slight inferiority for bilinguals on certain verbal items of the Stanford Binet Scale. However, although their IQ's did not differ significantly, the bilinguals had a consistently higher level of academic achievement than their monolingual counterparts (Spoerl, 41).

A study in 1927 reported the superiority of Jewish children over non-Jewish children in arithmetic, English, and general intelligence (Davies and Hughes, 9). The study was conducted in London, England. The Jewish children were assumed to be bilingual, but no measure of bilingualism was used.

A study indicating superiority of bilingual children

In 1962 Peal and Lambert (32) reported on a study of 364 10 year olds from six French schools in Montreal. On the basis of a number of measures, 75 children were classified as monolinguals, 89 as bilinguals (English/French). Those who could not be classified unambiguously as monolingual or bilingual were dropped from the study. A variety of tests of verbal and nonverbal intelligence as well as measures of attitudes toward the French and English communities were administered to both groups of children. The results of this study seem to run counter to the findings of the majority of previous studies in that the bilingual children show a marked superiority over the monolinguals, not only on nonverbal but on verbal intelligence measures as well.

Large-scale studies awaited

Large-scale carefully controlled studies of the effect of bilingual/bicultural education on children's academic achievement will undoubtedly soon be undertaken. Federal funds are being made available for such studies. While the task is an enormous one, it is less difficult than the design and implementation of studies that will provide empirical evidence of *affective* changes in children who have participated in bilingual/bicultural programs.

A study of effects of a bilingual program on self-concepts

A major goal of most bilingual/bicultural education programs is the development of a positive self-concept. Objective evidence of such development has been sparse. Fisher (12) reports on a study of first graders in a bilingual/bicultural program to determine the effect of the program on self-concept, self-descriptions, and stimulus-seeking activity. Results indicate that the self-concepts of girls are significantly enhanced by the program, but not the self-concepts of boys. Regarding self-descriptions, Mexican-American children in the control group did not feel that they were important members of the class; the majority culture children did. Girls in the bilingual/bicultural program showed a marked increase in the area of stimulus-seeking activity; boys in the bilingual/bicultural group and boys and girls in the control group did not. Although the groups were matched for socioeconomic background, as determined by father's occupation and whether the mother worked or not, school program and age, the size of the samples (n = 28 and 39) was so small that any conclusions must be considered tentative.

Need for evidence of value of bilingual education

Much is said and written about cultural diversity and the pluralistic society. There are, however, certain "American" traits that, although not descriptive of all Americans, do characterize many, particularly among those who control the purse strings and determine educational policy. One of the traits is a desire for proof, an "I'm from Missouri" outlook. Interest in bilingual/bicultural education is high. It is not fashionable to oppose programs designed to improve educational opportunities, particularly for minority children. If bilingual/bicultural education is to survive and grow, however, conclusive evidence of its worth must be made available to disarm the critics and the skeptics. Although Title VII has had great impact and widespread support, it must be noted that at no time have the total funds authorized been appropriated. In 1973, $135,000,000 were authorized, and only $35,080,000 were appropriated (39). There is still some convincing to be done.

Summary and conclusions

1 Bilingualism is not necessarily equilingualism. Most bilingual persons exhibit different degrees of proficiency, not only in the two languages generally, but also in the skills in each language. One may understand and speak Language A with native-like proficiency, yet be illiterate in A while being literate in Language B, though speaking and understanding B with far less than native-like proficiency. Bilingual people tend to assign their two languages to specific domains. Language A may be the language of the church, home, and family; Language B, the language of school, work, and the media.

2 The goals of bilingual/bicultural education as stated vary from transition to English and rapid assimilation into the dominant culture to parallel programs, K–12, in both English and the home language. The mode of preference in most cases will fall somewhere between the two extremes. What must be emphasized is that literacy is normally attained by mastering the graphic symbol system belonging to the language the learner has already mastered in its oral form. That rationale for bilingual/bicultural education is almost universally accepted. In the heat of argument it is too often muted in favor of reasons that appeal primarily to the emotions. Any child growing up in the United States in the foreseeable future who does not acquire skills of literacy in English will be faced with extremely limited possibilities for economic, cultural, educational, and political development. A promising way to develop skills of English literacy in children whose home language is other than English is to begin by teaching them to read and write in their home language, while acquiring oral skills in English.

3 *Bilingual education* is rarely used as a term any longer without a slash or a hyphen and the word *bicultural* added. Bicultural programs stress understanding of and respect for the child's home culture and consideration of the children's home culture in teacher training and the program of studies.

4 In establishing a bilingual/bicultural program the following should be considered: the attitudes of the non-English-speaking community toward the home language and English, involvement of community representatives in planning a program and providing liaison with the community, appointment of a coordinator who is competent in the home language of the children and familiar with their home culture, availability of resources—staff, plant, and materials—and means of evaluation in the cognitive and affective domains.

5 Evaluation in bilingual/bicultural programs is a critical need. Reliable and valid measures of the language abilities of teachers and children in English and the home language in all skills must be available. Evidence of change in attitudes and self-concept of children in bilingual/bicultural programs must be gathered and evaluated. Large-scale

studies comparing the progress of children in bilingual programs with children in traditional programs must be undertaken. Such studies must be conducted in a rigorous manner so that results may be interpreted with confidence.

6 Support for bilingual/bicultural education is increasing constantly. A number of states have mandated bilingual/bicultural education, and others are considering legislation to provide support for programs. To assure continuing support, efforts should be made to establish reasonable goals for bilingual/bicultural programs and to select and prepare teachers and other staff to carry out the programs. A concerted effort must be made to marshall and present evidence that bilingual/bicultural education is an effective means of preparing our children intellectually and emotionally for their future.

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